The A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter contains a brief summary of important matters affecting labor, occurring in the industrial, legislative, and judicial fields, and such other information that will benefit the trade union movement.

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

Entered as second-class matter, September 10, 1913, at the Post-office at Washington, D. C., under the act of August 24, 1912.

VOL. 4, NO. 37 — WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1914. — WHOLE NO. 193.

**Financial Help Wanted**

Local Unions and friends should help the Textile Workers, Glove Workers, and the Calumet victims.

## UNION'S BENEFITS SHOWN

### Street Car Men Submit Results of Trades Unionism.

### PRINT RECORD OF 200 CITIES

**Show Wage Increases and Improved Working Conditions—An Effective Argument for Organization.**

Detroit, Dec. 12.—In a pamphlet entitled "Wage History of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Employes of America," International President Mahon of that organization has compiled an effective argument for organization by wage earners.

The wage records for before and after organization of 200 cities are printed, and include all sections of the country. The following will indicate the general advances made:

Waterloo, N. Y.—Before organization—15 cents per hour the first year; 17 cents, second year; 19 cents thereafter. After organization—19 cents per hour the first year; 21 cents, second year; 22 cents third year, and 24 cents thereafter.

San Francisco—Before organization—20, 21, and 22 cents per hour. After organization—37 1-2 cents per hour.

Pottsville, Pa.—Before organization—13 cents per hour. After organization—25 cents per hour the first year and 27 cents thereafter.

New Orleans—Before organization—13 3-4 cents per hour. After organization—24 cents per hour the first, second, and third years; 24 1-4 cents thereafter.

With wage increases through organization, hours have been likewise decreased.

In addition, the pamphlet makes mention of other advances too numerous to mention. These include improved working conditions, such as air brakes, sand boxes, stools for motormen and conductors, the protection of the men while at their labor, and protection against unjust discharges. Mention is almost made of the hard fight to pass laws compelling all cars to be vestibuled. This was the first effort of the Amalgamated association to improve conditions. They succeeded first in Ohio. The work was carried from state to state, despite the opposition of practically all of the companies. Now the practice is universal in the United States and Canada.

### MUST RESPECT CONTRACTS.

Indianapolis, Dec. 12.—In a letter signed by officers of the United Mine Workers, locals are urged to adhere to their agreements. The statement says:

"Every contract violated is heralded broadcast by the nonunion operators and because of this fact we must be extremely careful and cautious. There is a way to settle practically every grievance in the well organized districts without resorting to a strike, and we caution our membership to keep this thought in mind at all times.

"Our union, which is now the largest in America, was built on the principle of collective bargaining and the enforcement of wage agreements. If we are to continue to grow and prosper we must maintain inviolate the fundamental principles upon which our movement is based. While the trade agreement is not perfect, our history will prove that it is the best system yet devised for the settlement of wage disputes. Those charged with the responsibility of enforcing the terms of wage contracts must be big enough and courageous enough to discharge their duties without fear or favor."

### LABOR FORWARD A SUCCESS.

Philadelphia, Dec. 12.—In a report on the eight months' "labor forward" campaign that has been conducted in this city, it is shown that the committee in charge expended $815.18, or an average of about 5 cents each for the more than 15,000 added to the membership of Philadelphia trades unions.

A total of $858.50 has been contributed by unions affiliated to the central body, leaving a balance of $43.32.

The committee will be continued and the work of unionizing this city vigorously pushed. Boilermakers are maintaining an active campaign in the navy yard, and at the last meeting of the Typographical union fifty applications were received as the result of aggressive efforts to interest non-unionists in organization. The carpenters have officials assisting in the work of organizing the millwrights, and scores of other unions report a continued and steady progress, made possible by the "labor forward" movement.

### RAILROAD TIE-UP AVERTED.

Cleveland, Dec 12.—W. M. Duncan, receiver of the Wheeling and Lake Erie railroad, has come to an agreement with representatives of 500 shopmen employed at the Brewster and Trenville (Ohio) shops of the company. The settlement is to be referred to the men for approval. The dispute at one time threatened to tie up the entire railroad, which has been in the hands of the court for some time. A week ago Federal Judge Clark ordered the company to open the shops, which had been closed since September, and negotiations were a result of that order.

### SIGN AN AGREEMENT.

St. Joseph, Mo., Dec. 12.—The Powell Manufacturing company has signed an agreement with the Garment Workers' union and will start operating about the middle of the month. A local of meat cutters has been organized, and application for charter made.

### FAVOR UNION LABOR.

Joplin, Mo., Dec. 12.—The school board has gone on record in favor of union labor in the construction and repairing of all public schools.

## RACE SUICIDE IS RIDICULED

Pittsburg, Pa., Dec. 12.—"There is no fear of race suicide. The alarmists would do much better to keep alive those infants that are born, rather than scream about a higher birth rate. A high birth rate feeds the undertaker and the sweatshop," said Dr. A. J. Todd, professor of sociology, in a talk before an evening class of the University of Pittsburg.

"Three hundred thousand babies less than one year old die in every twelve months. This death rate is twice as high as it should be. The general death rate has decreased remarkably within the last fifty years, but the infant death rate has not dropped proportionately.

"The path of social wisdom lies, then, along the direction of better rather than more children.

"Americans waste more coal than they use," continued the speaker. "The average worker in the United States loses 10 per cent of his time through unemployment. This is a loss to the country of one million years of labor, and nearly a half billion dollars every twelve months. From preventable sickness the loss every year approximates one and a half billion dollars.

"The annual cost of crime in this country is from two-thirds to three-fourths the value of the total wheat crop, or nearly $600,000,000."

## OPERATORS IGNORE FACTS

### Acknowledge Public Statements Are Not "Strictly Accurate."

### ROCKEFELLER TACTICS EXPOSED

**Investigation Shows Method Employed to Influence the Nation Against Striking Coal Miners.**

Denver, Dec. 12.—In their attempt to mold public opinion, Colorado coal operators made untruthful statements in their pamphlets entitled "The Truth About Colorado" and "Facts About the Colorado Struggle."

President Welborn, of the Colorado Fuel & Iron company made these admissions to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, which is investigating the miners' strike.

Mr. Welborn admitted that some statements in the pamphlets "might not be strictly accurate." The witness testified that his company had spent "about $12,000" printing the bulletins, and had distributed about 40,000 copies to educators, legislators, ministers, and the general public. He assumed responsibility for the documents, and said the writer, who came from the east, did not want his name known.

"Does he expect compensation for his work?" was asked.

"I don't know," answered Mr. Welborn. "When his work is completed I shall have to audit his bill."

"Who contracted his employment?"

"There was no contract. There was an oral understanding that he was to be compensated later. He is still making statements for us. His work is not finished. I don't know whether the company or some one interested in the company is going to pay him."

The attention of Mr. Welborn was called to a table appearing in one of the pamphlets, giving the sums alleged to have been paid to international officers and organizers of the United Mine Workers. According to this table, sums paid out in nine weeks were as follows: Vice President Frank Hayes, $4,502, with an additional $1,667 for expenses; John McLennan, $2,683, with $7,469 for expenses, John R. Lawson, $1,773; "Mother" Jones, $2,668.

Mr. Welborn said the statement had been published on the authority of the newspaper in which it first appeared. "Of course if the newspaper statement is incorrect, this statement is incorrect," was the only defense the operator made for his attempt to create the opinion among striking miners that their officers were using the strike for personal gain.

It is hinted that the man who wrote the pamphlets is a press agent for a Pennsylvania railroad, which has discovered the value of molding public opinion for its purposes, regardless of methods employed. It is claimed this man is still on the company's pay roll and has recently been directly employed by the Rockefellers.

### PROFESSIONAL LIST GROWS.

Washington, Dec. 12.—In ten years the list of persons engaged in professional pursuits in this country has increased 500,000, according to figures given out by the federal census bureau. In 1910 the number was 1,825,127, compared with 1,258,538 in 1900. Of those engaged in professional occupations in 1910, 1,151,709 were males and 673,418 females. This compares with 827,941 males and 430,597 females in 1900.

During the decade the proportion of males decreased in the professions from 65.8 to 63.1 per cent, while that of females increased from 34.2 to 36.9 per cent. In 1910 there were four women to every seven men engaged in professional service, a large proportion of the women being teachers.

Some of the noteworthy increases follows: Architects, males 110.5, females 200.7; literary and scientific persons, males 102.9, females 126.0; actors, males 25.0, females 88.1. The smallest increase was in the number of lawyers, being males 6.5 and females 23.0.

### WATCH NEW CONSTITUTION.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 12.—The Central Labor Union will recomend to the executive board of the State Federation of Labor that it agree upon certain measures to be embodied in the new state constitution. The state body will be asked to appoint a special committee on constitutional convention to work for labor measures when the convention meets, and in the meantime to become acquainted with the demands of organized labor, that same may be properly presented. It is further suggested that a special convention of New York trade unionists be called at Albany next spring, while the constitutional convention is in session, to consider a platform and a program.

### O. K. COMPENSATION LAW.

Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 12.—The Ohio Manufacturers' association has changed its mind toward the state compensation law, and at its fourth annual convention O. K.'d this measure, and recommended that no change be made in the law for at least six years, or until it is given a fair trial, if a longer period is necessary. Members of the association were among the most bitter opponents of the law last year, and resisted to the utmost efforts of organized labor to secure the passage of the act.

The employers favor stronger organization, but hasten to assure the public this view is not urged for the purpose of "exterminating employes' organizations, but for the purpose of having the manufacturers' side presented."

### CHANGE CONVICT SYSTEM.

Trenton, N. J., Dec. 12.—Gov. Fielder favors the establishment of the state-use system by which convicts may be employed. Under this plan goods used by the various state departments will be manufactured. The various correctional and prison reform boards urge the removal of the state prison from this city to Rahway and the placing of 300 convicts on road repair work and 300 on the prison farm in Cumberland.

### PAPERMAKERS STILL OUT.

Middletown, Ohio, Dec., 12.—Papermakers who were forced on strike by the Sorg company, because of their union affiliations and the dismissal of union officials, charge the concern with holding back money due them. The men worked under a bonus system, and when they were locked out they had $600 coming to them. They now charge that the superintendent told them they would not get this "until they spent some money."

### GETTING TOGETHER.

Middletown, N. Y., Dec. 12.—Trade unionists and members of the railroad brotherhoods are getting together on questions of interest, and a fine fraternal spirit is being developed.

### RETAIL CLERKS ORGANIZE.

Woodland, Me., Dec. 12.—Retail clerks have organized and secured an agreement with many of the larger stores in this city.

## IMPORTANT LEGISLATION PENDING----WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO GET IT

Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, 1914.

To All Members of Organized Labor, Greeting:

Three bills of the greatest importance to the interests of humanity in general and Labor in particular, are pending in the United States Senate. The opposition to all of these bills is so trenchant, so active, so well organized, and so politically influential, that it is thought they will succeed in preventing action in the Senate upon these measures, unless all organized labor and friends of humanity act immediately. The bills are:

First, the Seamen's bill as passed by the Senate, provided improved safety conditions for the traveling public; abolished involuntary servitude, and allowed better conditions for the seamen. It has passed the House with amendments and is now back in the Senate Committee on Commerce, of which the Honorable James P. Clarke of Arkansas, is chairman.

The best interests, directly or indirectly, of all the people in the civilized world, demand that the Congress during this session should take favorable and positive action upon the Seamen's bill. It is known as the La Follette bill, S. 136. Every labor organization and all sympathizers in the cause of freedom, safety, and justice should advocate its passage.

Second, the well-known Immigration bill, containing the literacy test for incoming aliens. It is known as the Burnett bill, H. R. 6060. It passed the House by a two-thirds' vote. It has been reported favorably to the Senate by Senator Smith, of South Carolina, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration. There is an overwhelming majority of Senators in favor of this bill if they can have an opportunity to vote for it. Similar measures to this have been passed by the Senate by large majorities in previous Congresses. If the Senate does not take action upon this measure at this session it will be injurious to the best interests of all the workers and all the people of our country. If the Senators hear from their constituents at home urging the passage of the Burnett bill with the literacy test included they will undoubtedly pass it.

The third measure is the domestic Convict Labor bill, known as the Booher-Hughes bill, H. R. 2321. This bill passed the House with only three dissenting votes; it has been favorably reported to the Senate by Senator Newlands, of Nevada, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. This Convict Labor bill is a proposed enabling act which will permit home rule for the several States in the employment of their convicts without fear of having products of contract convict labor in other States interfere with the welfare of their own industrial conditions. It has always been strongly advocated by the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. A similar bill to this has passed the House of Representatives several times, but never before has it been possible to obtain consideration of it by a committee of the Senate. It is now occupying a good position on the Senate calendar. It, too, will undoubtedly be passed if the organizations of labor, their members and friends will urge the Senators to take favorable action.

It is therefore strongly urged that the officers and members of all organized labor send official communications or resolutions, and that individual members and friends be requested to immediately write to the chairmen of the several committees herein named and also to their own United States Senators, asking them to see to it that the Seamen's bill, S. 136; the Immigration bill, H. R. 6060, and the Convict Labor bill, S. 2321, be passed at an early date and before the close of this Congress. Do not delay, and do not hesitate to correspond freely with your Representatives, and your United States Senators; ask them to give you a decisive answer to your communication, and urge them to exert themselves individually, in behalf of these humanitarian measures and protective labor laws.

If we can succeed in securing the passage of these three important measures, it will complete the historic Bill of Grievances submitted by the American Federation of Labor on March 21, 1906, to former President Roosevelt, to the late President pro tem of the Senate, Mr. Wm. P. Frye, and former Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, of the House of Representatives.

Please act instantly and frequently until we report that these bills have been passed by Congress and signed by the President.

By authority of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,

Saml Gompers.

President.
American Federation of Labor.

Frank Morrison

Secretary.
American Federation of Labor.

## ANOTHER BOARD FAVORED

Washington, Dec. 12.—Much interest has been aroused and considerable comment is being indulged in labor circles in this city regarding the first report to Congress which the United States Industrial Relations Commission submitted regarding a federal commission of mediation and conciliation. The commission makes no recommendation, but the following hint of an additional mediation and conciliation board to do the work now being performed by the United States Department of Labor is contained in the report:

"There was practically unanimous agreement among the witnesses that the formation of a Federal Commission of Mediation and Conciliation, composed of representative employers and employes, would be a desirable step toward the establishment of industrial peace and the protection of the nation from the damage resulting from protracted strikes and lockouts, with which the individual states seem incapable of dealing. It was impressed upon the commission, however, that the very greatest consideration and care should be given to the organization of such a commission, and that, before all, the method of selecting its members should be such as to secure the representation of the interests involved and the exclusion of politics."

## WOULD END WIRE MONOPOLY

Washington, Dec. 12.—"I expect to make an effort, together with other members of Congress, who have studied the question, to bring up a bill to turn the telephone systems of the United States over to the postoffice department, during the present session of Congress, and I have reason to believe that we shall be able to pass it," said Representative Lewis, a member of the labor group.

"The American postal service averaged 60,000 pieces of mail matter handled per employe, in 1913; 13,000,000,000 in all. The average cost to the consumer was about 2 cents. Private monopoly would require from 5 cents to 10 cents for such service. In June last the express companies were losing about a cent on each package carried, on an average charge of about 50 cents. The same month parcel post charged an average of 15 cents for the packages it carried, and after paying all costs, including the railway pay, has some 3 cents profit left on each package. Telephone communication is in the same class as express service. It is a natural monopoly, and must be in the hands of the public to be either cheap or efficient."

### WANT FREE SCHOOL BOOKS.

London, Ontario, Dec. 12.—The Trades and Labor Council will start an agitation for free school books. For thirty years the organized workers of this city have urged this principle, which they are confident will be ultimately accepted by the people when once understood. The unionists acknowledge they have not pressed the issue as strongly as they should, and they now propose starting a vigorous campaign.

### TO FORM CENTRAL BODY.

Clarksburg, W. Va., Dec. 12.—There is a militant trade union sentiment being developed in this city. Several new locals have been organized and wage increases are reported. A new central trades council is being formed.

### URGE SHORT HOUR LAW.

Augusta, Me., Dec. 12.—The State Federation of Labor is circulating petitions to submit a fifty-four hour law for women and minors to a vote of the people.

### SEES FLOOD OF ALIENS.

Washington, Dec. 12.—Friends of the Burnett immigration bill, which provides for a literacy test, point to the declaration by Charles Henry Cheney, San Francisco architect, before the American Civic association, that "5,000,000 immigrants will come from Europe in two years after the war." The speaker said the United States immigration commission was his authority for this statement.

"For more than a year California authorities have conducted investigations in Europe to ascertain how many and the character of the immigrants destined for the Golden Gate state," continued Mr. Cheney. "This investigation has brought out that thousands of persons in Europe before the war were looking forward to going through the Panama canal to California. Tickets from Europe to San Francisco by an all-water route will be much cheaper than transportation to New York by steamer and thence by rail across the continent. This will result in an increase in the immigration to the Pacific coast with the consequent problems of a social nature."

### AGAINST "SURPRISE TESTS."

Chicago, Dec. 12.—Abolition of the "surprise tests" given engineers will be demanded of the arbitration board now hearing grievances of engineers and firemen in this city.

The "surprise test" is as follows:

While running a through train at high speed in the night the engineer is assured by a white signal that all is safe. Then, as the engine turns a curve, he sees a sudden flash of red light and he realizes that possibly death awaits him and his passengers.

With nerves taut, the engineer begins to apply his brakes. And immediately the red light disappears, a white one shows, and again the engineer is told by signal that all is safe and he has the right of way.

This sort of test may prove to be a lasting blight upon the engineer's physical and nervous constitution, according to the engineers.

### MAY RECOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.

Washington, Dec. 12.—A dismissed employe of a railroad company is entitled to recover his contributions to a relief fund while he was in the company's employ.

This decision was made in the District of Columbia court of appeals when it reversed the finding of the lower court and directed the Pennsylvania railroad company, as trustee of the fund, to account to George W. Vermillion for his payments into the fund.

### HONOR A VETERAN.

Philadelphia, Dec. 12.—Organized carpenters of this city are improving the home of Mrs. Peter J. McGuire, located at Camden. The carpenters take this occasion to again honor the memory of a trade union veteran, who founded the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and who did pioneer work in upbuilding the American Federation of Labor.

## ENVOYS PROTEST ALIEN ACT

Phoenix, Ariz., Dec. 12.—Gov. Hunt has telegraphed the state department at Washington that he will delay proclaiming the law adopted by the people of this state last month which forbids the employment of more than 20 per cent of foreigners in any business in Arizona.

Protest had been made at Washington by the British and Italian ambassadors, who object to the new enactment.

The British protest attacks the law as in violation of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the laws."

The Italian protest cites the commercial treaty between Italy and the United States, ratified in 1871, which provides that citizens of each nation resident in the other shall have liberty "to carry on trade, wholesale and retail; to hire and occupy houses and warehouses, to employ agents of their own choice, and generally do anything incident or necessary for trade upon the same terms as natives of the country, submitting themselves to the laws there established."

The law will undoubtedly be subjected to severe tests in the courts, as railroads and other large corporations have indicated a willingness to join in attacking its constitutionality.

## JUSTICE, NOT GUSH NEEDED

Pittsburg, Pa., Dec. 12.—What mankind needs is more justice and less love, said the Rev. C. R. Zahniser, in a sermon in this city. "Justice and love are not comparable," said the speaker. "They are not in the same category. Love is a function of the mind, of soul; justice is a characteristic of the actions and relations of man to man. To talk about substituting justice for love is like proposing to adjust the machinery of a mill so well that there would be no need of engines or power plant.

"The type of love we are needing is that which expresses itself in justice rather than in cheap, gushing sentimentality. The world is sick and tired of the 'love' that sends toys to a sick child and opposes child labor laws, gives nickels to cripples and opposes workmen's compensation, or 'pities' the poor and grinds labor below a living wage. Constructive service is indeed what the world is sorely needing. But that is the kind of love for which Christianity stands."

### A REASON FOR HIGHER WAGES.

Chicago, Dec. 12.—Higher wages are justified because of a greater production is one of the "hard nuts" the engineers and firemen submit to arbiters who will decide their wage demands. President Carter of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen stated their position thusly: "We cannot get away from the theory that the engine crew is entitled to share in the profits from the increased productivity of its efforts."

### DISCUSS MINE LEGISLATION.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Dec. 12.—At a meeting of the tri-district board of the United Mine Workers it was decided to take an active part in the coming session of the legislature to defeat several proposed enactments. These workers declare there is law enough for the miner if it is rigidly enforced.

### EARLIER SATURDAY CLOSING.

Galveston, Tex., Dec 12.—In their new agreement, which is being mailed to stores in this city, the Retail Clerks' association is asking for a reduction of two hours in the closing on Saturday nights.

## SOLDIERS CALLED 'BRUTES'

### Colorado Educator Testifies on Strike of Coal Miners.

### RIGHTS WERE DISREGARDED

**Militia Officer Responsible for Ludlow Massacre—Arrest of "Mother" Jones an Outrage.**

Denver, Col., Dec. 12.—Constitutional rights were abolished by the Colorado militia when they went into the strike zone, declared Prof. James H. Brewster, of the University of Colorado, in his testimony before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

The entire conduct of the state troops was a course of outrage and brutality, Prof. Brewster asserted. Not only had Adjutant General Chase wiped out constitutional rights, but the miners had been robbed by the state troops, the ranks of the militia had been swelled by the enlistment of scoundrels, and the right to search had been exercised by the state troops while the courts were open.

Prof. Brewster declared that Lieut. K. E. Linderfelt, in charge of the machine gun at the Ludlow massacre of fourteen women and children, was a "brute unfit to associate with anybody," and that because of his brutality a Congressional committee had asked that he be suspended on January 30, 1914.

"Had he been suspended then," he declared, "Ludlow would never have happened."

He asserted Linderfelt had trained the gun on the Ludlow colony during a search of the colony by the militia for weapons, and parking the gun, declared he could sweep the whole encampment.

"Adjutant General John Chase thinks he is a soldier," said Prof. Brewster.

Louis Tikas, leader of the Greeks, who was killed in the Ludlow massacre, was a factor for peace in the Ludlow colony, said Prof. Brewster. He was a graduate of the University of Athens. He related the verdict of the court-martial at which Linderfelt was exonerated for the killing of Tikas.

He characterized the arrest of "Mother" Jones by the militia as one of the greatest outrages on American jurisprudence.

He related the arrest of a woman who struck a militiaman because he shoved her during a parade at Trinidad. It was necessary to incarcerate her children with her, that they be fed.

He declared that merchants of Huerfano and Las Animas counties had been intimidated by the "company" with loss of financial and social position. A glance of an attorney's eye was sufficient to "fix" a Mexican jury that tried accident cases, he declared.

### WAR BUDGET GREATEST YET.

Washington, Dec. 12.—Appropriations aggregating $104,124,512, to carry the army through the coming year, are proposed in estimates which the war department has completed for submission to Congress. This is an increase of $3,105,300 over the total carried by the army bill for the current year, although reductions are made in the allowances for many branches of the service.

A new item of $150,000 for purchase of automatic rifles is asked. Altogether $2,900,000 is sought for ammunition, compared with $3,000,000 carried in the current law. For field artillery for the organized militia $2,000,000 is asked, $2,100,000 having been appropriated last year.

The estimates of the navy exceeds last year's total of $145,000,000 by about $1,000,000. This department also wants an increase of 240 additional officers and about 4,000 men to fully equip American warships.

### DEFENDS COMPENSATION LAW.

San Francisco, Dec. 12.—Harris Weinstock has answered the charge of an insurance company that the state's promise to refund 15 per cent of its premiums to policy holders in the state compensation insurance fund is a "get-rich-quick scheme," and is a "pilfering of a fund set aside to protect industrial cripples."

Weinstock shows that these reductions now total 40 per cent over the charge of private companies, and that the state, in the matter of efficiency, has broken all records in the settlement of 3,000 claims. Of these there have been only eleven disputed cases, and out of these there have been only three cases where the injured worker's right to compensation had to be determined by the commission. In the remaining eight cases the issue was simply to determine who were the rightful dependents of the injured workers, the extent of such dependency, or the extent of permanent disability.

### LABOR EDITOR JAILED.

Stockton, Cal., Dec. 12.—Five days in jail and a fine of $250 is the sentence imposed on F. P. Lamoreux, editor of the Stockton Labor News, by Judge Norton, of the Superior court, who found the unionist guilty of contempt because, in referring to an injunction issued by the court, he expressed editorial views as follows: "When a judge wants to do something not authorized by law, he simply makes a law to suit himself." The court held this was a contempt, and on motion of one of the attorneys for the anti-union association of employers, cited Lamoreux and several other unionists. The latter were discharged, while the editor was jailed, although the court assured him "there was no personal feeling in the matter."

### STIR UP HORNET'S NEST.

Battle Creek, Mich., Dec. 12.—The followers of one Dan Cupid are rushing to the support of this little gent because the board of education has put its ban on weddings among school teachers. The practice is verging on an epidemic, and the authorities have resolved to stop it by ordering the county clerk to refuse marriage licenses to any young woman employed in the schools, on the ground that the brides-to-be are "contract-breakers." The county clerk is "dared" to do his worst by parties of the first part.

### ENFORCE TWO-SHIFT SYSTEM.

Milwaukee, Dec. 12.—The municipal fire department has ordered the double shift system for local fire tugs. The federal law provides that all tugs must install a double shift system whereby boat employes can work twelve hours, instead of twenty-one out of the twenty-four.

### TO UNITE PLUMBERS.

Philadelphia, Dec. 12.—Plumbers in this city are discussing the question of amalgamating their three locals into one powerful union.

Plumbers' officers have formed a local of steam fitters employed at the League Island navy yard.

### SETTLE LONG STRIKE.

Murphysboro, Ill., Dec. 12.—The Murphysboro Paving Brick company has signed a union shop agreement with its workers and this twelve years' strike is at an end.

## HOW GIRLS EXIST, NOT LIVE

### Startling Disclosures at New York Investigation.

### 30-CENT DINNER IS IMPOSSIBLE.

**Thousands of Working Women Live Cramped, Subnormal Lives Because of Low Wages.**

New York, Dec. 12.—How girls exist—not live—was shown at a hearing by the state factory investigating commission, of which President Gompers is a member.

Miss Esther Packard, assistant secretary of the Consumers' league, who made an investigation for the commission, told how working girls live on $6 a week. She stated that it was only at the sacrifice of practically all comfort, and frequently of health, that a girl can exist on this meagre salary. She interviewed about 100 girls in this city and 200 in other large cities of the state.

"A girl of twenty-two was sick last winter," said Miss Packard, "and absent from work for a week. She is a clerk getting $6 a week as saleslady in the white goods department of a large upstate store. 'You see I've figured it all out,' she said. 'I pay $2 for my room—that bill has to be met every week. Then once a month 25 cents is taken out of my tiny envelope for the store benefit fund. That also is regular and can't be cut down on. I've got to dress decent to keep my job. If I didn't spend $1.25 a week on clothes they'd fire me sure. So you see yourself the only thing that is left me to economize on is food.' Fifteen or 20 cents is the highest amount she ever pays for lunch and dinner. 'You know sometimes I just long for a 30-cent dinner,' she said. 'But I haven't the price of it in my pocket-book, so what can I do? I get so tired of those 20-cent dinners year in and year out, that often I think I'd rather not eat at all.'"

The investigator said that "statistics tell us that thousands of working girls are receiving only $5, $6, and $7 a week. Such figures, no matter how imposing, mean little to the average person, unless it brings immediately to his mind a picture of just what this wage actually means to working girls.

"To one girl $5 will mean lack of food, to another it will be poor living quarters, and yet to another no savings for the rainy day. But invariably it will mean to thousands a cramped, subnormal way of life—a mere existence, not a real living."

### SCHOOL SANITATION URGED.

Washington, Dec. 12.—Insanitary rural schools result in physical defects which cause needless suffering and hardship in later life, says the United States public health service, in a bulletin just issued.

"The necessity of extending to rural schools the same sanitary advantages now enjoyed by urban schools is obvious," declare the investigators. "This neglect of sanitary precautions observed in rural communities is undoubtedly due to lack of sanitary knowledge. Instructing the people in the value of sanitation will naturally serve to make them adopt measures such as are now in force in cities for the proper construction and maintenance of school buildings and the regular medical inspection of school children. School hygiene has a great economical value, in that it serves to prevent the spread of disease and makes the children now in the schools healthier members of the community and the country at large."

### OPPOSE INCREASING HOURS.

Boston, Dec. 12.—Trade unionists oppose the plan of Gov. Walsh, suggested at a conference of the State board of labor and industries that "some state board should be given authority to suspend or modify certain labor laws in cases of emergency, particularly the laws governing the hours of labor," so that the state may secure more European war business.

Arthur M. Huddell, an organized worker, declared that labor should not be obliged to adjust itself to meet war emergencies. "Our workers should not be obliged to break down their health in order to give capital the chance to take emergency contracts," he said.

Henry Sterling, also a unionist, opposed any plan to break down or modify the labor laws even for a short time. He declared that organized labor would protest against any such plan.

Later, the central body voiced its opposition to the governor's suggestion.

### TO TREAT WITH UNIONS.

Jacksonville, Fla., Dec. 12.—Trades unionists in this city are interested in the proposal of certain firms and individuals engaged in the building trades to form an organization that will treat with organized labor. Several of the more influential of these employers announce they are willing to join an organization of this character and enter into an agreement that will provide for arbitration in case of differences. The workers are encouraging the plan.

### STRIKE NEGOTIATIONS OFF.

Cleveland, Dec. 12.—The joint conference of miners and operators representing the eastern Ohio coal fields, where several thousand miners have been on strike since last April, has adjourned, breaking off all negotiations toward a settlement of the dispute. The miners are asking for a rate of 47 cents a ton, and the operators stick to their offer of 44.52 cents.

### TO START A "LABOR FORWARD."

Cleveland, Dec. 12.—Preliminary work is being done by the committee in charge of the "labor forward" movement. Subcommittees are being selected and a general plan of action agreed upon to interest the unorganized in the benefits of trades unionism.

## EQUAL SUFFRAGE EXPANDS

Washington, Dec. 12.—Even in the states where women's suffrage was defeated last month, the largest vote ever cast for the suffrage cause was recorded, says the National American Woman Suffrage association, in a statement on the recent elections.

The statement also says:

"A summary of the results of the November elections shows that the addition of Nevada and Montana to the number of suffrage states gives equal suffrage an opportunity to compete for seven more electoral votes, enfranchises 99,881 women, increases the amount of suffrage territory by 256,901 square miles, and increases the suffrage population by 457,925.

"Full equal suffrage now prevails over 1,738,040 square miles of the United States, or nearly one-half of the total area.

"Women now have an equal voice with men in casting ninety-one electoral votes, or more than one-sixth of the total number in the electoral college.

"The total population of the full equal suffrage states is now 8,232,249.

"The total population of the states where women can vote for President of the United States is 13,521,831, or 15 per cent of the total population."

# PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

## Summary of Investigation Conducted the Past Year—No Recommendations Made in What Is Termed "A Record of Progress"—Members Say a Sentiment Exists for the Creation of Another Federal Commission to Do Work Now Under Jurisdiction of Department of Labor.

The United States Commission on Industrial Relations has submitted to Congress its first annual report, covering the year beginning October 22, 1913, when the funds appropriated by Congress first became available.

The report presents an outline of the research and investigation work now under way and a summary of the testimony of more than 500 witnesses, including employers, workmen, trade unionists, economists, public officials and others, who have appeared before the commission at public hearings in various cities from New York to San Francisco.

No conclusions are stated by the commission and the report is intended to be merely a record of progress. Under the act creating the commission the final report, containing conclusions and recommendations, will be submitted to Congress before next August.

Probably the most interesting part of the report is the summary of testimony at the public hearings. These have been held in Washington, New York, Paterson, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Lead, S. Dak., Butte, Mont.; Seattle, Portland, Oreg.; San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Witnesses were summoned only after careful investigation by agents and members of the commission. Of the 514 witnesses summoned, 181 were affiliated with employers, 183 affiliated with labor and 150 not affiliated with either group. Of those affiliated with employers, 132 were employers, managers and foremen, 16 were representatives of employers' organizations, 7 were attorneys for employers' organizations, 8 were efficiency engineers, 5 were agriculturists and 13 were employment agents. Of the witnesses affiliated with labor, 127 were trade union officials, 39 were working men and working women, 4 attorneys for labor organizations, 7 Industrial Workers of the World and 6 representatives of the Socialist party. In the group not affiliated with either employers or labor were 52 public officials, 24 representatives of private organizations, 17 educators, 16 economists and sociologists, 8 investigators, 6 representatives of the press, 5 private citizens, 6 clergymen and 16 unclassified.

The witnesses represent at least 210 organizations, firms and corporations distributed as follows: Labor organizations, 53; employers' organizations, 29; private organizations, 30; public institutions, 19; firms and corporations, 79. Practically every organization having a direct interest in industrial questions has been accorded a hearing.

Analyzing the testimony of witnesses at the hearings, the commission finds substantial agreement by all witnesses as to some of the causes of industrial unrest. Those causes generally agreed upon are found to be as follows:

Largely a world-wide movement arising from a laudable desire for better living conditions. Advanced by representatives of labor, socialists and employers and generally indorsed.

A protest against low wages, long hours and improper working conditions in many industries. Advanced by practically all labor representatives and assented to by many employers.

A desire on the part of the workers for a voice in the determination of conditions under which they labor, and a revolt against arbitrary treatment of individual workers and a suppression of organization. This was almost uniformly approved by labor witnesses.

Unemployment and the insecurity of employment. Generally advanced by witnesses from every standpoint.

Unjust distribution of the products of industry. Advanced by most labor representatives and agreed to by most employers.

Misunderstanding and prejudice. Agreed to by employers and employes.

Agitation and agitators. Generally advanced by employers, but defended by labor representatives and others as a necessary means of education.

The rapid rise in prices as compared with wages.

The rapidly growing feeling that redress for injuries and oppression cannot be secured through existing institutions.

"In addition," says the report, "it has been stated by many witnesses that the tremendous immigration of the last quarter century, while not itself a direct cause of unrest has served to accentuate the conditions arising from other causes, by creating an oversupply of labor unfamiliar with American customs, language and conditions."

### Collective Bargaining.

The general principle of collective bargaining, involving the existence of unions and employers' associations in some form, was indorsed by almost every witness.

"It is remarkable," says the report, "that there has been almost complete agreement upon the part of witnesses, employers and employes, who have appeared before the commission, favorable to the general principle of collective bargaining. There is widest divergence in regard to the form which the various witnesses believe that such collective bargaining should take, and in many cases it must be said that the correctness of the principle was admitted grudgingly. Nevertheless, only five witnesses from among the employers objected to the principle of collective bargaining.

"On the other side the principle of collective bargaining is practically rejected by the various representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World, who maintain the theory that there can be no just bargaining between employers and employes. They admit, however, that in practice it is desirable to conduct negotiations with employers or employers' associations in order to secure the best possible terms for the workers, but hold that if agreements arise from such negotiations they need not be respected."

"It is interesting to note that a large number of employers, including some who do not employ union workmen, not only expressed themselves as being in complete accord with the principles of collective bargaining, but also expressed the opinion that a large part of the improvements in industrial conditions in the last half century have been due to collective bargaining with existing trade unions.

"Many of these have also claimed that the larger part of such improvement has come from the general improvement of economic conditions and from the initiative of employers and a more enlightened business policy.

"A majority of the best informed witnesses who have appeared before the commission have insisted, however, upon the necessity of securing a proper basis upon which such collective bargaining can be carried out. It is impossible to analyze these suggestions at this time, but it may be well to note that practically all of the most experienced witnesses have insisted upon the necessity for strong organizations of both employers and employes as a fundamental basis for the successful conduct of collective bargaining.

"Witnesses representing both of the parties to a number of the national trade agreements which are now in effect have testified before the commission and without exception have testified that such agreements have not only greatly improved the conditions of the workers in the industry, but have tended to the promotion of stable industrial peace. Numerous alleged defects in these agreements have been pointed out, but none of the parties to these existing national agreements has failed to express the desirability from the standpoint both of employers and employes of such a method of determining the wages and other conditions which prevail in an industry.

"The majority, at least, of the labor representatives who have appeared before the commission have urged that the most potent and, in fact, the only real remedy for the existing industrial situation lies the rapid extension of labor organizations along essentially the lines of the existing trades unions. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance, to have brought together in definite concrete form the criticisms on trades unions. These criticisms come from two main sources, the employers and so-called 'radicals.'

### I. W. W. Criticisms.

In addition to these criticisms, says the report, the following criticisms of existing trade unions have been made by Socialists and Industrial Workers of the World.

"Criticism 1. Organization on craft lines defeats solidarity and at times makes labor organizations the tools of the employers.

"The representatives of trade unions reply that the best justification of the craft form of organization is to be found in the fact that the unions formed on this basis prospered, while in many cases ambitious attempts to organize without regard to crafts have resulted in complete failure. It is further stated that the question of the method of organization is a matter of practicability and the choice of the individual members.

"Criticism 2. Acceptance, especially by conservative leaders, of the idea that the interests of employers and of labor are the same makes the existing trade union an ally in the exploitation of the rank and file of the union workmen as well as of unorganized labor.

"The trade union representatives state that there is no acceptance of the idea of the identity of interest of employers and workmen other than the firm belief that whatever advances the cause of the workers and improves their material condition must be valuable to the employer, by giving more efficient and more competent employes.

"Criticism 3. The lack of democracy in trade unions and the domination by individual leaders hinders development of the rank and file and make it easy for the employer to prevent aggressive action.

"It is said by the labor representatives that on the contrary the trade unions are the most democratic organizations in the world, and that their leaders possess no greater power than is necessary for the conduct of the business of the union.

"Criticism 4. The existing trade unions are with a few notable exceptions attempts to secure through monopoly all the improvements for the skilled workers, without reference to, or, it is alleged, often at the expense of the unskilled. The unskilled workers are, therefore, regarded as an encumberance and no effective attempt is made to organize them.

"The trade union representatives repudiate these charges and state that the efforts to organize the unskilled are more complete and far reaching than any attempts which have been made by their critics. They insist, moreover, that the one great obstacle to the organization of the unskilled workers into trade unions is the campaign of opposition which is continually pursued by these very critics.

"Criticism 5. The trade union, by neglecting the political field, fails to use its most effective weapon.

"The trade union representatives reply that the history of the attempts to use labor organizations for political purposes shows a succession of failures, which have resulted in the disintegration of such organizations. That the trade unions urge their members to utilize the ballot for their own industrial interests.

"Criticism 6. The trade unions, by accepting the philosophy that labor is a commodity, attempt only to get the best price for its sale and are constantly defeated because the employer, by raising the price of the commodities which he sells, is able not only to recoup himself, but to pass the increase to the consumers, the greater number of whom are themselves laborers.

"The trade union representatives repudiate the acceptance of any philosophy which regards labor as a commodity and point not only to the fact that in one of the recent acts of Congress they have secured the insertion of a clause denying that labor is a commodity, but also point to the long list of legislative measures secured by the efforts of the trade unions which are intended to promote the well being of men, women and children.

"Criticism 7. The restrictions on membership which have been set up by many craft unions in the form of high initiation fees and disbarment on account of race and color, are undemocratic and prevent the formation of real solidarity of labor.

"The trade union representatives answer that the initiation fees, as a rule, are extremely reasonable; that where high fees are charged, there is some well grounded necessity therefor; that there are comparatively few restrictions as to race or color, and that by the very necessities of our social institutions, these must be determined in many instances according to the particular circumstances of trades and localities; that excessive, fees and racial and other discriminations are the acts of individual unions, and that the overwhelming sentiment among the rank and file of the trade unions is unalterably opposed to the charging of excessive fees and discriminations undemocratic in character."

### Criticism of Employers' Associations.

The report then outlines charges and criticisms by trade union witnesses against employers' associations. These witnesses, however, without exception, approved of the formation of strong organizations by employers for the purpose of negotiating and maintaining collective agreements. The criticisms therefore were directed almost exclusively against those associations which do not have trade agreements and which are conducted on either "open shop" or anti-union policies. The criticisms follow:

"Criticism 1. Many of these associations, while acting collectively themselves, deny or attempt to prevent the organization of their employes.

"The reply of the employers is that they do not object to the organization of their workers along proper lines, but that they will not tolerate organizations which interfere with the employer's right to conduct his business as he sees fit or which prevent the free American workman from securing employment under such conditions as he wishes to accept.

"Criticism 2. The associations are maintained for the advantage of paid officials and lawyers who create an atmosphere of bitterness and hatred and provoke trouble in order to keep themselves in employment.

"The employers reply that this charge is untrue, as the associations are voluntarily formed and the officials and attorneys are paid and retained only as long as they fulfill their duties in a business like manner.

"Criticism 3. The salaried secretaries and managers of many of the associations are not themselves employers, and have no direct interest in the industries which they represent nor knowledge of the existing industrial conditions except through hearsay.

"The employers reply that these secretaries and managers are well fitted for the positions which they occupy, and since they merely carry out policies which are dictated by practical employers, their lack of contact with industry is of little consequence.

"Criticism 4. The associations are usually undemocratic in form, and are generally dominated by small cliques who use the organization for their own purposes.

"The employers reply that the form of organization is that which business experience has shown to be most effective and that what is called 'domination by cliques' is simply the centralization of power and responsibility.

"Criticism 5. The employers' associations are generally ignorant of and indifferent to the conditions of the workmen in their own industries and have no concern for the progress of humanity.

"Apart from the associations which claim to be active in humanitarian work, the reply is generally made that the organization was effected simply for business reasons as a defense against trade union encroachment and leaves its members free to carry out their altruistic plans in their own way.

"Criticism 6. The employers' association which keep a record of individual employes use such records as a method of blacklisting agitators and active union men.

"The employers reply that it is entirely legal and proper to keep such records and to hire men on the basis of their past performances. That this is the only way to avoid favoritism and can be objected to only by those who seek to secure employment for some purpose other than that of exchanging 'a fair day's work for a fair day's wage.' That the elimination of the agitator is in the interest not only of shop discipline, but also of industrial peace.

"Criticism 7. The employers' associations which oppose trade unions boycott the employers of union labor and goods bearing the union label.

"The employers reply that this action, where used, has been adopted as a matter of defense against the aggressions of trade unions.

"Criticism 8. The employers' associations by the employment of armed guards and gunmen not only maintain a state of feudalism, but also thereby display an attitude of opposition to those branches of the state created for the maintenance of law and order. Furthermore these armed guards and gunmen provoke and create violence and disorder to put the strikers in a false position before the public, to harass the strikers by involving them in unwarranted arrests, or to create and maintain employment for themselves.

"The reply of the employers is, first, that the employment of the guards in no sense arises from disrespect for the constituted authority of the state, but is made necessary by the failure of individual officials to perform their duties. Second, the employment of these guards is a matter of heavy expense which would not be incurred if it were not necessary for the protection of human life and property, and that the employment of armed guards is the effect of labor violence and not the cause of it. Third, the existence of violence is most detrimental to the property of the employer and the safety of his faithful employes and consequently it is inconceivable that it should be provoked with the employer's knowledge or approval.

"Criticism 9. The employers' associations maintain corps of detectives and spies for no legitimate purpose but simply to spy on the activities of unions, to harass union members and officials, and to provoke strikes at such times as they are sure to be lost.

"The employers reply that such detectives as are used are employed merely to obtain information needed by the association, and that it can hardly be believed that employers work to stir up trouble among their own employes and suffer the consequent losses and dangers, even if the strike was sure to be lost.

"Criticism 10. The employers' associations maintain or have access to bodies of strike breakers who are not bona fide workmen, but simply the reserve of mercenaries for use in industrial war.

"The reply of the employers is that the first duty of the manager is to keep his plant in operation and that when a strike occurs he necessarily secures workmen to take the place of the strikers from the most convenient supply. The maintenance of such a supply of reserves should be characterized only as an example of business foresight.

"Criticism 11. The employers' association undertakes the support and defense of its members in strikes, without determining first whether or not such strikes are justified by existing conditions.

"The employers reply that this is by no means characteristic and that it would be very foolish for any association to follow such a policy. Moreover, even where conditions may apparently justify a strike, there is frequently a fundamental principle involved which must be defended by the association.

"Criticism 12. The associations which advocate the so-called 'open shop' are insincere, as this is a device which is uniformly used to eliminate union men and all who are active in the improvement of working conditions and in securing for employes their rights.

"The employers repudiate this charge of insincerity and reply that it is true that many employers who started to conduct a genuine 'open shop' have found that it is impracticable to employ union men, as they secure employment only for the purpose of organization and not to better the condition of themselves or their fellow employes through the proper channels. Nevertheless, where such a change of policy has been adopted, it has been forced by such actions on the part of the union men and agitators, and a genuine 'open shop' policy would be resumed as soon as it could be done without the risk of endangering discipline and loyalty of employes.

"Criticism 13. The employers use their connection with banks and other sources of credit to hold members of the association in line during labor disputes and to compel outsiders to join the association. This is advanced by representatives of labor as an aggravated case of 'secondary boycott' and more oppressive than anything that could possibly be advised or carried out by the unions.

"The employers reply that such cases are extremely rare, but can be considered only as means of defense adopted as an offset to the unfair aggressive tactics of trade unions.

"Criticism 14. The members of employers' associations, by manipulating their advertising patronage, exercise undue control over the press both for the suppression and distortion of facts regarding labor matters.

"The employers assert that where such action occurs it is done on the initiative of the individual employers and not as a part of the policy of the association. That no association has sufficient power over its members to control their actions in so vital a matter as advertising, even if it was desired.

"Criticism 15. Through their social and business contact with judges and other public officials, the members of employers' associations are able to influence their attitudes and actions during industrial disputes.

"The employers deny this charge and insist that the influence of labor over judges who are elected is much stronger than any that could possibly be exerted in this manner.

"Criticism 16. The officials and members of employers' associations frequently attempt to influence the actions of union officials by bribery and other considerations, and that even when such bribery is known or acknowledged the associations seldom if ever remove or discipline the offending member.

"The reply of the employers is that such bribes are generally solicited or secured by coercion and that it would be unjust to discipline a member who has been 'held up' by labor officials.

"Criticism 17. The employers' associations regularly oppose humane and necessary legislation until it is inevitable, and, if support is then given, it is only to secure modifications which weaken or destroy it.

"The employers assert that the attitude of their organizations, and individual members toward remedial legislation is rapidly growing more and more liberal, and they point to their indorsement of such legislation as workmen's compensation acts, and safety and sanitation measures.

"Criticism 18. The employers maintain paid lobbyists to obstruct or influence legislation by their connection with individual legislators.

"The employers state that this is a matter of heavy expense, which would not be borne if experience had not demonstrated the need of having representatives at the state and national capitals to protect themselves against meddlesome, foolish and burdensome laws. That if there were no labor lobbyists, the employers would gladly avoid this expense.

"Criticism 19. The employers' associations are frequently used to prevent competing firms from securing business and from entering the same territory. In this action the unions claim that the employers virtually set up the 'closed shop,' but without the fundamental basis of social progress which underlies the demand for the 'union shop.'

"The employers reply that if such a situation exists it is contrary both to common law and the Sherman act and should be prosecuted rather than discussed.

"Criticism 20. The employers' associations are not incorporated, not financially responsible."

"The reply is that such incorporation is not necessary as the individual members can be easily sued and have tangible assets upon which any proper damages can be levied.

"Criticism 21. The employers' associations seldom discipline their members for breaking labor contracts or for failing to carry out the awards of arbitration boards.

"The employers reply that the individual firms guilty of breaking such agreements are directly responsible and that it is the duties of the parties affected to bring suits in such cases for the recovery of the proper damages."

### Regarding Arbitration.

Regarding mediation and arbitration, says the report, expert witnesses from both sides have unanimously indorsed the general proposition that mediation should be used to the greatest possible extent and as early as possible in the settlement of disputes, and that the machinery for prompt and impartial arbitration should be developed as a method of securing peaceful settlement where mediation and conciliation fail.

"Practically every witness," says the report, "has expressed the strongest disapproval of any form of compulsory arbitration. Arbitration was suggested only as a last resort and then to be purely voluntary. Witnesses agreed that mediators should be bi-partisan, that they should have full power of investigation, that their contact with industry or industries with which they are expected to deal should be as nearly continuous as possible, that they should, if possible, act before a dispute has come to a head, and that adequate inducements should be offered to obtain the best possible men.

"The testimony of a majority of the employers was in favor of a rule similar to that of the Canadian industrial disputes act, which prohibits strikes and lockouts in public utilities pending investigation by the mediators, assisted by representatives of the employers and employes. Such a law is uniformly opposed by the representatives of labor on the ground that it is entirely in favor of the employer, who utilizes the period of delay to make preparations for breaking the strike. It is also insisted that such a delay would be in violation of that provision of the Constitution of the United States which prohibits involuntary servitude.

### Conciliation and Mediation.

On this subject the commission says:

"There was practically unanimous agreement among the witnesses that the formation of a Federal Commission of Mediation and Conciliation, composed of representative employers and employes, would be a desirable step toward the establishment of industrial peace and the protection of the nation from the damage resulting from protracted strikes and lockouts, with which the individual states seem incapable of dealing. It was impressed upon the commission, however, that the very greatest consideration and care should be given to the organization of such a commission, and that, before all, the method of selecting its members should be such as to secure the representation of the interests involved and the exclusion of politics."

### Labor Exchanges.

Discussing the testimony on unemployment, the report says:

"The witnesses testifying on this subject agreed almost unanimously that the first step in any program in dealing with unemployment must be the creation of a national system of labor exchanges, along the lines suggested in the tentative proposals which were prepared by the commission and distributed among the witnesses. It was brought out that efficient labor exchanges would eliminate unnecessary idleness."

### Additional Hearings.

The commission presents its tentative program for future public hearings, as follows:

Centralization and control of industry—New York city.

Manufacturing industries—Chicago, Indianapolis, Birmingham, Atlanta, Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit.

Mining industries—Chicago, Denver, Wheeling, Calumet.

Railroads and other public utilities—Chicago. Including general railroad problems; strike on the Harriman lines, telegraphers, the Pullman company, and street railways.

Agriculture and land problems—Chicago, St. Louis or Kansas City and Washington.

Labor and the law—Chicago and Washington. Including the law governing industrial relations; the interpretation of the law by the courts on industrial matters; the cost and difficulty of securing justice under existing laws and procedure, and the administration of the law by public officials and police.

Administration of labor laws, smuggling of Asiatics and immigration, safety and sanitation, women and child labor, social insurance, interstate competition, relation of government institutions to their employes. All in Washington.

### Research Work.

In addition to the public hearings, the commission's report covers its research and investigation work. This includes the following subjects:

Extent and growth, form and organization, policies and methods of trade unions and employers' associations, and trade agreements between them, conditions of unorganized labor, scientific management, mediation, conciliation and arbitration, women and children in industry, elimination of human waste, agriculture and land problems, unemployment, social legislation, interstate competition, labor and the law, illegal entry of Asiatics.

Regarding trade unions and employers' associations, the commission announces that it is making a comprehensive study of a large number of typical organizations. The commission says:

"Against many of these associations and unions grave charges of serious import to the welfare of the country, if they be proved true, have been laid before the commission, and it is only by the most painstaking, impartial, and unrelenting examination that the facts can be developed, and such examination we are now prosecuting."

A careful study is being made of existing trade agreements for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent these agreements have resulted in better conditions, and their effectiveness in the promotion of industrial peace. Inquiry is also being made into the comparative results and desirability of various methods of wage payment, notably the wage basis, piece rate basis, task systems, and the various bonus systems.

### Unorganized Labor.

Of unorganized labor, the report says:

"The commission realizes that all wage earners are not organized, that there are thousands of workers outside the union where individual bargaining prevails. The conditions in these unorganized employments are being carefully studied. In connection with these investigations, special attention is given to the reason for this lack of organization, in order to discover how far it is due to the general aversion to organization, how far to apathy and ignorance, and how far to fear of active opposition on the part of the employer. There can, however, be no question that one of the contributing causes of industrial unrest is the conviction of labor that lack of organization makes inevitable disastrous inequality between employers and employes."

### Scientific Management.

Of scientific management, the report says:

"The union men testified that scientific management was nothing more than the old piece work and task systems, and that in their application it is used to break down organization. The commission feels that it is putting the issue fairly when it states that it is the contention of the scientific managers, as a rule, that unionism is incompatible with scientific management and the highest productivity. The union's contention is that the so-called scientific management is not truly scientific, and that it is incompatible with the welfare of the workers. Other witnesses testified that it was not only possible but desirable to combine collective bargaining with scientific management by giving both sides an equal voice in fixing the conditions of employment. Where there is such great diversity of opinion, it is evident that the case does not permit of either sweeping approbation or condemnation, but that it is rather a case where the most careful analysis must be used to separate the good points from the bad, in order that whatever is of value may be retained and perpetuated, and that whatever is evil in its industrial or social result may be eliminated. The commission is investigating this subject with competent experts."

### Women and Children.

Of women and children in industry, the report says:

"It is admittedly the case that an economic revolution has thrown many thousands of women and children into industry. There are few questions that offer such difficulties to impartial approach. The commission is, therefore, making a detailed study of the industries and occupations in which women or children are largely employed, such as the textile trades, garment making, and department stores, in order to determine how far charges of oppression, injustice, and exploitation are true."

### Human Waste.

Under the heading, elimination of human waste, the report says:

"There seems to be an ever increasing class of unfits and inefficients, and our inquiry is developing the fact that a principal cause is the lack of practical preparedness for the duties of life. On every hand there is agreement that education must be stripped of its purely academic emphasis, and brought into closer and more helpful relation with the business of living. Investigation of the great body of unemployed who are found drifting from one part of the country to another, has shown that a very considerable percentage of them have become tramps because they were never taught in youth to perform any kind of work properly. In relation to this subject of industrial unrest, we find a growing feeling that not only education, but the school itself, is capable of, and should be held to provide a wider and richer use for the people of our nation than now exists."

### Land Problems.

Of agriculture and land problems, the report says:

"Investigations and hearings of the commission have already established that industrial unrest has extended to agriculture. In the recent strikes among agricultural laborers, the increasing irregularity of their employment, and in the growth of farm tenancy and the appearance of tenants' unions, is this menace to the sound agricultural base that has been so essential to American prosperity. The contention that tenancy is a step to ownership is met by the report of the last census, which shows 37 out of every 100 farms in the hands of tenants, and that the number of farms operated by tenants increased more than 16 per cent from 1900 to 1910.

"We are warned that a gradual alienation of the worker from the land has taken place. In proof of this contention our attention is directed to the increasing price of land, which makes it more and more difficult for a poor man to acquire a farm or a home, with the large holdings in the hands of corporations and individuals, and to the growth of the large class of roaming, homeless agricultural and casual laborers. In California testimony was given tending to show the menace to family life in the land situation of that state. In one school district of 110 square miles, it was charged that there are but 40 children; another of 102 miles has 47 children; and still another of 188 square miles has no children at all.

"To the cry 'Back to the land' is suggested a counter-appeal, 'Get back the land.'

"The commission is investigating these questions of land tenancy, farm labor, land ownership, speculation and taxation, as affecting industrial conditions and relations. The foremost authorities on these questions in the country are being called to the aid of the commission in this most fundamental work."

### Unemployment.

Of unemployment, the report says:

"Nothing comes so clear to the commission as the imperative necessity of organizing a market for labor on a modern business basis, so that there will be no vacant jobs and idle workers in the same community at the same time, or within distance where the transportation is practicable. The consensus of opinion is that legislation for a national system of labor exchanges is an immediate necessity. The plan of the commission proposes to establish a bureau of employment in the Department of Labor, which would co-operate with state and municipal employment offices, regulate private agencies doing interstate business, and establish clearing houses for distributing information, uniting all labor exchanges into one national system.

"The system of casual labor, by which men are hired for a few hours a day, a few days a week, is filled with menace, not only to industry, but to American institutions. From casual and infrequent labor it is but a step to practical vagrancy and general disintegration, and out of these despairs and revolts, serious dangers threaten organized society.

"The commission is investigating dock work, and has had investigators follow the harvest, studying the irregularities of employment in agriculture. Similar investigations are being made in railroad construction and lumber camps; also in great packing industries, where, in a comparatively few years the system of hiring has been changed from the week to the day, and from the day to the hour or piece.

### Social Legislation.

Under the heading, social legislation, the commission declares for measures that will prevent the debilitating effects of fatigue, industrial accidents, and sickness. It is working in conjunction with the United States Public Health Service in the preparation of a national sanitation program, and is co-operating with the National Council of Industrial Safety in a national safety program.

The regulation of the hours of labor by statute is also being examined in order that a practical report may be made of the effects and scope of legislation.

"Our investigations," says the report, "are going deeply into the welfare work administered by the national government, state, and municipalities, private employers, commercial bodies, labor organizations, fraternal societies, and insurance companies."

The commission reports that it is prosecuting a searching inquiry to determine the truth of the claims of employers that industrial welfare legislation prevents them from competing with employers in other states where such legislation is in effect.

### Labor and the Law.

Discussing labor and the law, the commission declares that both parties to the industrial conflict are coming to be possessed of a very definite distrust, and at times positive hostility, to those institutions that should have the respect, support, and confidence of every citizen.

"The flat assertion is made repeatedly," says the report, "that property rights have been put above human rights; that labor, before the law, is treated as a commodity, and that the law and the courts lose sight of the fact that labor cannot be dissassociated from men, women and children. An imposing array of matters has been submitted, tending to prove that the right to the writ of habeas corpus has often been denied, that freedom of the press and of speech has been restrained and at times prohibited, and that the courts have sat idle while armed forces stripped the citizens of constitutional guarantees that are presumed to be inalienable.

"Many employers are equally insistent that the law, the police, and the courts have ceased to give them a proper measure of protection in their property interests. The law, they say, is being rapidly shaped to serve the selfish interests of the working class; the police, under the alleged domination of the unions, refuse to arrest strikers, even when they openly commit crimes, and the courts, moreover, are becoming more and more subservient to the workers.

"The employers, these witnesses have stated, feel no confidence that they will receive justice from those courts whose judges are elected, and who are, therefore, directly subject to the demands of the working people, who constitute a majority of the voters. In fact, they say, employers feel that they uniformly receive a fair measure of justice only in those courts, such as the Federal tribunal, whose judges are appointed for life.

"Furthermore, in their impatience with the ordinary process of law, some individuals, employers and employes alike, have asserted publicly their intention to pursue extra legal, or even illegal, means to gain their ends, and have professed a contempt for, or hostility to, existing government." Testimony is quoted, both by members of the I. W. W. and by large employers, to substantiate the foregoing."

The commission asks the question whether or not the legal machinery is no longer applicable to economic conditions, or whether the trouble lies in amazing ignorance of the law and failure to understand the meaning of inalienable rights. "Is there need for changes, improvements and adaptations," says the report, "or must entirely new legal machinery be devised for the control of industry?"

Proposals for constructive legislation, the report announces, will be submitted to Congress covering labor exchanges, industrial education, vocational guidance and apprenticeship; safety, sanitation, health of employes, and administration of laws relating thereto; smuggling of Asiatics; mediation, conciliation and arbitration; women and child labor, minimum wage, hours of labor; agriculture and farm labor; social insurance, especially workmen's sickness, and invalidity insurance; and labor and the law.

### Conclusion.

In conclusion the commission says:

"The original act, passed August 23, 1912, established three years as the life of the commission. By reason of delays, over which we have no control, this time has been cut to one and one-half years. We hope that the record of the operations of the commission for the first year may be taken as an earnest of our faithful endeavors. It must be obvious, however, that the curtailment of our working period has made it imperative that we concentrate our efforts, employ a more extensive force of technicians, and give practically the whole time of the individual members of the commission to the prosecution of the work."

The report is signed by Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, chairman of the commission; Prof. John R. Commons, of Madison, Wis.; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, of New York City; Harris Weinstock, of San Francisco; S. Thruston Ballard, of Louisville; John B. Lennon, of Bloomington, Ill.; James O'Connell, of Washington, D. C., and Austin B. Garretson, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The research and investigation work has been in charge of Charles McCarthy, of Madison, Wis., and the public hearings have been in charge of B. M. Manly, of Washington, D. C.

## PURPOSE OF THE COMMISSION--BENEFITS CLAIMED BY MEMBERS

In the first report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations it is stated that the commission's first task was to agree upon an interpretation of Congress' instructions to inquire into the underlying causes of industrial unrest, and to formulate a working program.

"There was immediate agreement," says the report, "that the commission was not a bureau or department of government in the ordinary sense, but an independent body created by Congress to do certain specific things. The usual government agency makes detailed investigations for the purpose of presenting facts in a more or less statistical form to Congress and to the public. The commission's duty is to get behind these facts, find an explanation for their existence, and establish their relation to industrial unrest as a basis for constructive legislation.

"It is equally plain that Congress did not intend the commission to undertake the settlement of labor disputes. Our efforts are to ascertain the causes of industrial strife, to plan their removal or mitigation, and to suggest machinery that will facilitate in some degree the future orderly and peaceful conduct of industry on a level that will insure the maintenance of the highest practicable standards of working and living conditions.

"Our decision to hold public hearings was based on the belief that laws are valueless except where they are expressive and rest upon a strong opinion, and there seemed to be no way that would be more effective for ascertaining the general sentiment as to industrial unrest and its causes than the face to face method of open hearings to which are summoned interested parties from all walks of life. These public hearings brought about that personal contact with industrial conditions and industrial relations that is so essential to a sound judgment and correct conclusions as to what are the real causes of industrial unrest.

"Through the medium of carefully planned public hearings, the commissioners were brought into direct contact with the issues in industrial centers of the country, and conferred with the men, who, as a result of many years of industrial experience, could give not only the most exact and authoritative information, but also seasoned opinion in and judgment as to the wisest course of action to bring about genuine and stable improvement.

"Witnesses have been given the widest possible liberty in order that they might express freely just what they had on their minds as to industrial unrest that existed and what were the causes lying back of that unrest.

"The hearings have served two other great purposes. First, they have carried to the general public for the first time, it is believed, an idea of the issues involved in the industrial struggle and an understanding of the causes which make for industrial unrest.

"Second, they have compelled both employers and labor to consider deeply their own weaknesses and shortcomings, and search for means to correct evils which have been brought to their attention in this public manner."

### HAS REASON FOR ACCIDENTS

Denver, Dec. 12.—Miners "take chances" is the reason for accidents, answered J. C. Osgood, of the Victor-American Fuel company, when asked by the Federal Industrial Relations Commission why these fatalities occur. The witness failed to state that fatalities in non-union mines are greatly in excess of union mines.

Osgood is not opposed to organized labor, according to his testimony, but he assured the commission that "under no circumstances would he recognize a union," or would he ever consent to deal with union labor.

## POISONS IN INDUSTRY

In his annual report Chief Factory Inspector Nelson suggests that the state of Illinois is not adequately protecting the lives of its working people in trades which expose them to the dangers of occupational diseases.

"The large number of cases of sickness reported in the tinware, car seal, paris green and china color transfer industries," explains Mr. Nelson, "undeniably cause room for anxiety. Our law is very narrow in scope and does not include all of the harmful industries in the state. In many of the industries, such as the transfer of pictures and designs on chinaware, boys and girls are employed and quickly contract lead poisoning. The children in this industry being just above the child labor law in age, cannot be prohibited from working in this trade. This is but one instance where the law should be amended to prohibit any one under the age of twenty-one from working in any occupation where they are exposed to the dangers of trade poisonings.

"The manufacture of paris green is another industry made difficult to control under our present law. Here the danger is in the dust-laden air, filled with paris green powder. The use of respirators is rendered prohibitive on account of the friction around the mouth and nose. The workers in this trade within a few days become poisoned by contact on the mucosa of the mouth and nose. Almost every case reveals scrotal ulcerations.

"Another dangerous trade is that of painting. While the painting occupation allows only a few cases of poisoning in our monthly reports, it is to be noted that only an insignificant number of painters in this state is being reported on. Almost 30,000 painters are employed in this state, yet our law does not offer them any protection, except in a few cases where they are employed in shops of carriage and automobile body makers and wagon shops. No one state bureau in this country nor even the United States government knows to a certainty how many painters are prohibited on account of the friction around the mouth and nose. The workers in this trade within a few days become poisoned by contact on the mucosa of the mouth and nose. Almost every case reveals scrotal ulcerations.

"Another dangerous trade is that of painting. While the painting occupation allows only a few cases of poisoning in our monthly reports, it is to be noted that only an insignificant number of painters in this state is being reported on. Almost 30,000 painters are employed in this state, yet our law does not offer them any protection, except in a few cases where they are employed in shops of carriage and automobile body makers and wagon shops. No one state bureau in this country nor even the United States government knows to a certainty how many painters are prohibited on account of the friction around the mouth and nose. The workers in this trade within a few days become poisoned by contact on the mucosa of the mouth and nose. Almost every case reveals scrotal ulcerations.

"The suggestions I have just offered as amendments to our present law should be added still another. Industrial, wood alcohol poisoning attacks varnishers and furniture finishers, lacquerers and hatters. Alcohol, although, therefore is designated in the list of dangerous substances such as are enumerated in the present law.

"And, finally, the law should be made to apply to cabinet workers. Here is a large industry of cabinet work connected with the building of bridges, tunnels, subways and railroads. Here the dust disease commonly called the 'bends' a formidable one.

"I have alluded to the virorous enforcement of the present law and the narrow scope of the same. My numerous suggestions for amendments to the present law I show that the state is not offering the most adequate protection to the working people in the many trades and occupations which endanger their health."

## MENACE OF THE M. & M.

One of America's leading economists shows that the two great obstacles to progress and the two great sources of human misery in the world's past have been ignorance and selfishness.

Ignorance has made men the victims of one another by war, oppression, slavery, murder, piracy, theft, fraud, malice, revenge, and a thousand and one other wrongs; and, at the same time, notwithstanding all the wrongs it has done to others it has made man his own worst enemy.

In California we have an organization known generally as the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, whose chief functions seem to be the propagation of these two adverse influences.

Its avowed purpose is to crush the workers of the state from organizing and to destroy the organizations of labor already in existence, because these unions of workers become educated and better able to combat the forces that oppress their members.

They recognize in the labor unions the greatest educational agencies for the enlightening of the working class, and so have strayed to eliminate them.

The principal subscriber of the M and M is its efforts to establish so-called "industrial independence."

This "industrial independence" means a condition of industry in which organized employers shall have no interference from organizations of workers.

It is a system for the propagation of selfishness.

It would have the workers adopt the barbarian creed of "every man for himself."

It would resolve industry on the workers' side to a state of universal contest with each other for jobs.

It would destroy organized labor with all its beneficial co-operation features.

It would eradicate the brotherhood of labor, which can only exist among organized workers.

So it will be seen that the M. and M. is devoted only to the things that obstruct happiness and promise misery.—Los Angeles Citizen.

## *Smooth Running of Unions Is Inevitable*

Although organized labor is the most comprehensive and constructive of all social movements, its minor parts fail in many instances, to work with that smoothness and effectiveness necessary to accomplish greatest results within the shortest time.

The fault—or reason for our imperfect adjustment and consequent friction is common in all new machinery and organization. The various parts, of which you and I are, have not become perfectly adjusted to the general purpose of the whole machine.

Considering that the impulse of labor organization is directly opposed to all previous human activity, this tremendous confusion and wasted effort is most natural; for the long-fostered spirit of self-preservation and the fondness for material supremacy is not wholly dead within our class, even though the opportunities for successful expression have practically vanished.

The closing of opportunities has driven the workers' class to organize, and we hurriedly that the physical organization has not had sufficient time to altogether change the spirit of individualism to that of fraternity. Consequently, the organization establishing a comprehensive community of interest suffers from the active, partial and debilitating complications and will continue to suffer so until such time as we can develop a true spirit of fraternity.

At this stage of development it is extremely difficult to find men capable and willing to bear the burden of responsible positions, because there are but few men advanced to the point where they can labor honestly, faithfully and enthusiastically without compensation or appreciation. This field of labor can only be usefully filled by the man who fortunately realizes that his coming on earth was for a definite purpose, and not merely to consume to waste.

However, let us proceed diligently, but patiently, and look back upon the tortuous trail we will be inspired with that hope and confidence so necessary to our continued advance.—San Diego Labor Leader.

## *Social Loss Greatest Cost of Ill Health*

The public health exposition sets forth, among other useful data, an estimate of the cost of sickness and effectiveness in dollars and cents. In instance, it is calculated that the annual loss of the entire country, due to preventable tuberculosis is $3,000,000.

That is an effective way to present the health situation. It is true, as the promoters of the exhibit demonstrate in various ways, that "health is the greatest asset of any country, and economic value of a human life are made by the public health experts. But the loss in dollars is not the loss. It is a preventable loss it is a reflection on the intelligence of society and a constant menace to its progress.

It is to the credit of our day that we have gotten firm hold of the knowledge of the great central social facts and of prevention as one of the most important social functions. We decline to regard a considerable amount of disease as a necessary by-product of existence. We are beginning to insist on having something to say about our own death rate.

We are beginning to recognize as never before the wide ramifications troublous problems to which its negligence leads. We see that which efficiency and humanity are the two main watchwords, it is clearly seen that health is a business and not a no small part of the legitimate end and aim of business.

It is not necessary to spend money on every project that comes under the guise of public welfare to safeguard the public health. But for approved, scientific, practical steps—and there is an immense list—the public information and approved experience available—substantial public support should always be had.—Chicago Herald.

## Popularity.

It is not a good sign for a man to be seeking popularity. If he does so, it is certain that he will let go of the sincerity and reliability of life. Popularity is often a compromise between right and wrong, the wrong frequently getting the better of it. Those who seek popularity are vain of their popularity. They smile and smirk about it as if it were their true virtue. Such men are shallow, when really it is only a touch of their own insignificance. Such men have but little stability, and surely lasting taste.

But there is such a thing as real popularity. It is when a man have by their courage, integrity and noble conduct won the admiration and respect of others, so that they stand somewhere among their fellows, with no suspicion of a sense-less notoriety or sensational fame. Popularity is worth a man's winning.—Idaho State Journal.

## CRITICISMS AND DEFENSE OF THE TRADES UNIONS

In the preliminary report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, criticisms by employers of the trade unions, together with replies by organized workers, are summarized by the commission as follows:

"Criticism 1. Lack of responsibility on the part of unions; not only is there no penalty for the breaking of agreements, but the employer has no redress even for material damage done by the union, except through legal action against individual members.

"The reply of the union representatives is: That experience has shown the best guarantee of the observance of contracts to be moral responsibility and regard for the reputation of the union. That the instances of contracts broken by unions are few in number, and inconsiderable in comparison with the number of contracts broken in the business world, where money damages are commonly imposed. That putting on a forfeitable bond would lower the entire plane upon which the observance of contracts now stands, and would simply mean a financial calculation on the part of the union to see whether a breach of contract would leave a balance in favor of the members after the bond was forfeited. That the assumption of financial responsibility by the unions would simply be taken advantage of by the employers to harass the unions.

"Criticism 2. The 'closed shop' policy of the unions not only means a monopoly of labor as far as the employer is concerned, but also prevents competent mechanics from working at the best wages and under the terms imposed by the union, from obtaining employment at their trade.

"The reply from labor is that there is no 'closed shop,' in the sense implied above; that the 'union shop' imposes no burden on the employer, who is free to employ any workman he pleases provided that the workman will become a member of the union and bear his share of the responsibility in return for the benefits which the union offers to all who work where union conditions have been established. That the conditions imposed upon applicants for membership are merely those which every competent mechanic can meet and that they are reasonable from every standpoint and necessary for the protection of the trade.

"Criticism 3. The unions stand for restricting the output to the level of mediocrity and insist nevertheless on the payment of the standard wage for an output which is above the standard.

"The reply is that the unions have never attempted to establish a restriction on output save as a protection for the health of their workers, and to prevent the overworking of the less skilled and weaker men. That the union is applying merely the rule of ordinary business where the amount of a given commodity sold is regulated entirely by the price that is paid.

"Criticism 4. That the unions establish a wage rate for all members which results in rewarding the incompetent with higher wages than they earn and destroys the individuality of the skilled.

"The labor representatives reply that the standardization of the rate to a dead level is the work of the employer and not of the unions. That the union merely establishes a minimum rate and leaves the employers free to pay the individual workmen as much more as they please. Some of the employers have admitted that this is true in theory, but insist that as a matter of individual practice they pay more than the minimum rate, the other members immediately demand the same rate of pay.

"Criticism 5. That the unions establish unreasonable and arbitrary restrictions on apprentices, which not only prevent a sufficient supply of skilled workmen, but also prohibit the American boy from learning the trade in the land of his birth.

"The union's reply is that where restrictions of apprentices exist they are not arbitrary, but are on the contrary fixed after careful consideration, with the idea of preventing a monopoly of labor in the trades and the consequent 'cut throat' competition for employment. That the employers usually do not make use of the full number of apprentices to which they are entitled under the rules, and therefore conclusive that the employers do not sincerely wish to train apprentices, but on the contrary wish merely to make use of a cheap labor supply.

"Criticism 6. That the power of the unions is based, not on reason or on advantages offered employers, but on a policy of coercion.

"This statement is denied by the union representatives, who declare that the charge falls flat as soon as the history and organic structure of trades unions are intelligently studied.

"Criticism 7. The unions use violent methods and do not hesitate to resort to force to destroy property or life, if necessary, to gain their ends.

"The unions reply that violence is never sanctioned by any legitimate labor organization and is never resorted to by individuals acting under severe provocation, and in self-defense. They recognize their duties to defend their lives, homes, and families, but claim to include rules and methods of self-control than the civilized nations of the world. On the other hand they insist that most of the violence which occurs in connection with industrial disputes is instigated and fostered by the agents of the employers in order to discredit the unions or to secure employment or reward for themselves.

"The testimony of a number of witnesses shows, however, that the charge that violence is the natural accompaniment of disputes where large numbers of men are brought together. Witnesses have stated that in many cases the leaders of both sides of both employers and employes regarding violence, and that both sides use violent methods whenever it serves their ends.

"Criticism 8. The business agents and other officials of the unions have too much power and abuse it by becoming blackmailers and grafters.

"The reply of the union representatives is that the officials in trade unions possess only the power necessary to transact the business of the union, and in fact have very much less power than the officials of corporations. That this power is seldom abused, and that when it is clear that the charge against a union official is true and not simply a trumped up charge to weaken the union, there is always rapid and decisive action by the union to punish such an official. That any abuse of power by officials for blackmail or graft is necessarily detrimental to the interests of the union and consequently can never be regarded with favor by trade unionists themselves.

"Criticism 9. The action and policies of trade unions are frequently not the result either of reason or of a desire for justice, but on the contrary are determined largely by union politics.

"This charge is generally met by an admission on the part of the union officials that unions are subject to the same defects as other democratic institutions, but it is pointed out that the unions have always adopted at the earliest possible moment all the measures which have proved of value in the political field to insure actual democracy. They point out that the initiative, referendum, and recall were adopted by the unions before they found general support in the field of political government in this country.

"Criticism 10. The unions create antagonism between the employer and his individual employes, and undermine the discipline of the shop.

"This is denied by the unions. It is insisted that the employer regards any instructions of the individual employe with regard to his rights as an attempt to harass the employer and make his position hard. That the employer who makes this point is not interested in the orderly and harmonious conduct of his shop, but in having the individual employes subjugated so that they will be entirely subservient to his wishes.

"Criticism 11. The unions, as soon as they acquire strength of numbers and a compact organization, undertake deliberately to oppress employers and imperil the very life of the industry.

"The union representatives insist that, while their organizations are subject to the frailties of human nature, a careful examination of the facts will show that unreasonable demands seldom arise from strong organizations, but on the contrary are made by weak unions which have little to lose by reason of erratic action.

"Criticism 12. Some unions are alleged to be disloyal to the state, in that they prohibit their members from joining the militia, and discriminate against men who have served in the regular army.

"The unions in reply demand the production of specific cases where such action has been taken, but admit that a strong sentiment has developed in the militia has grown up in the minds of many individual unionists, not toward the militia as a state institution, but toward the militia as a body of employers for their own advantage and for the destruction of the union.

"Criticism 13. The unions are not sincere in their demands for collective bargaining, but as soon as they have obtained power in any trade or locality, proceed to make their demands in the form of ultimatums to the employers.

"The union representatives state that while in many cases terms are defined by the union because of the lack of adequate organizations of employers with whom to take up such terms of employment, nevertheless the unions are at all times ready to discuss their demands, either with individual employers or any association directly interested. That wherever the employers accept such conditions it is due to their own choice and in fact due to a proper organization with which the unions can deal.

"Criticism 14. The union rules are designed for selfish purposes, and make for waste and social inefficiency. As instances witnesses cite the union rules in the printing industry which limit the amount and character of work which feeders for pressmen are allowed to perform, and the rule which says that all plate must be reset by members of the union, even when it is furnished in usable form.

"The unions reply that each of these rules, if carefully considered, will be found to be reasonable and to be necessary for the protection of the rights of the employes. That the rules which are most frequently cited as to be unreasonable in character are those which were originally suggested by the employers for their own interest.

"Criticism 15. The acceptance of union conditions yields the employer many elements of a business to union officials who are not connected with the industry and who have no direct interest in its progress and life.

"The union representatives state that on the contrary the control of these elements of a business in which the union interests itself is in the hands of the employer and his associates—the few—in which he has the most direct interest in the welfare and prosperity of the industry.

"Criticism 16. The unions while asserting their right to a voice in the control of the employers' business are unable to prevent jurisdictional disputes among themselves, and as a result cause enormous loss to the industry and to the public.

"The reply of the labor representatives is that jurisdictional disputes arise inevitably from the rapidly changing character of American industry; that they are more seemingly deplored by the unions than by any one else and that every effort is being made either to prevent their occurrence or to settle them as soon as possible.

"Criticism 17. The unions use the 'sympathetic strike,' ruthlessly, illegally, and to the certain injury of innocent parties who have no interest in the dispute.

"The unions reply that the sympathetic strike is used only after mature consideration for the protection of their fellow employes. That the sympathetic strike is not illegal, and that the innocent interested parties are subject to injury not by the will of the union, but because of the peculiar economic position which they happen to occupy.

"Criticism 18. The charge is made by using the so-called 'secondary boycott' are guilty of an illegal act of conspiracy to injury innocent parties who are neither responsible for nor have any interest in the dispute at issue.

"The unions reply that it is certainly legal for an individual or indeed for a corporation to withhold its patronage from whatever concern it may select and therefore be equally legal for an association of workers acting as an entity to do the same thing."

## HOW TO LIVE AND PROTECT YOURSELF

Upon resolution No. 144 of the Seattle convention, proposing that the American Federation of Labor start a campaign of education to endeavor to lessen the accident and safety appliances, the executive council reported to the Philadelphia convention that such a campaign would be carried on more advantageously by the respective internationals and that the publications of the A. F. of L. should only be used to disseminate information as sources of general information.

Specific information applicable to different trades to be furnished only by experts. This work properly belongs to a federal bureau. It would be carried on by institution of this kind is provided in the House labor safety bill, which was framed by the A. F. of L. and introduced and reported at the coming session of Congress. Information how to safeguard life and limb and health should be in the possession of every worker—for then and then only does it become effective.

The establishment of such a bureau should include occupational diseases as well as accidents. The fatal diseases and industrial accidents are of the same nature—physical injuries resulting from violence. The fatal diseases are more insidious and the other gradual, but both are the physical consequences of the conditions under which the worker works.

Our nation has been convinced that compensation legislation is just and expedient, but of far greater importance is prevention of accidents and diseases which legislation in favor of workers seeks against their economic consequences. Indeed, in a business sense any convinced many employers that money spent in preventing accidents and disease reduces the cost of production more than compensation awards. But if the movement is to attain greatest effectiveness the workers must begin a systematic study of their own welfare.

Each local union ought to pursue some constructive course in educating its members in the fundamental principles of safety, in the prevention of accidents, in carrying out of conditions of work, and in rendering aid after accidents. A committee should be given charge of this educational work whose duty it should be to have presented at regular intervals information in the form of talks or lectures upon anatomy, hygiene, etc., with special reference to daily work in the trade. General discussions should follow all formal instructions.

Knowledge of physiology and hygiene is too often assumed, yet these subjects are not usually taught in the public schools in a practical manner, and even if they were many workers have not retained it or kept themselves of valuable information. Many do not understand the relation of good health to efficiency, the relation between food and the health of the body, the relation between physical health and mental ability. Yet these are vital and labor power may be indefinitely promoted by such knowledge.

There is vast amount of literature written upon these matters which can be obtained by the unions. Individual workers might find a few spare minutes to read what is in their possession when they cannot devote the time to acquire important things out for themselves. An increasing volume of matter upon accident prevention and occupational diseases is being published each year. Public libraries should furnish upon demand from the workers.

The Federal Bureau of Mines has been supplying valuable technical information to the miners, but we doubt whether the information of the individual miner is benefited thereby so greatly as is possible. This material ought to be utilized for the greatest human welfare. If methods for self-protection together with underlying principles involved could be presented in the union meetings in simple, practical terms, a real educational campaign of incalculable value would ensue.

There should be established central educational bureau or a responsible agency at the headquarters of the internationals and the A. F. of L. to furnish the unions with all the data which unions with information in regard to sources of the safety articles, books, government publications, and so forth, and be able to present special information to organizations desiring outside assistance.

All unions are cordially invited to write to A. F. of L. headquarters, where information and printed matter can generally be obtained.

The medical profession has already done considerable work in industrial hygiene in accord with the general medical trend toward prevention and preservation of health.

The Federal Department of Labor has made several studies of industrial diseases, but has not yet undertaken to publish information upon prevention. But we have every reason to believe that when we cannot urge too strongly that every international and every local immediately undertake some definite work for the physical betterment of all those in the trade or industry.—Samuel Gompers, in American Federationist.

### BETTER CONDITIONS.

Duluth, Minn., Dec. 12.—Carpenters have secured increases without a strike.

## THE DANGER OF WASTING WORKERS

The only crop of a country which has any lasting importance is its crop of men, its crop of workingmen. From a human point of view, nations exist for the purpose of raising men. The business of France is to produce Frenchmen, of Germany to produce Germans, and to make these crops of men the strongest and best that can be grown.

Just as in Rome and Germany, as in most other countries, there are men who do not have to do any useful work because they have inherited, by force of custom and tradition so that other men must work for them. They are on a kind of perpetual, legalized strike. So, in peaceful times, the Frenchmen and Englishmen and Russians, who have been born into the world with much pain, and brought up with troubles and sacrifices, are quietly at their tasks, and each one of them does part of the task of someone else who does not have to do any useful work, and so the world goes merrily on and society is well satisfied with itself.

But presently the commercial and feudal rulers of the several nations fall at outs with one another, and begin to fears that the other is hindering him so that his uselessness is not profiting him as much as he has made it do. Accordingly, some millions of the useful workers of each nation are taken from their useful tasks and set to the task of maiming and destroying one another and of destroying themselves. Even when themselves, these workingmen would not think of any fighting more serious than fisticuffs, they would find that they would keep on working and turning out enough for themselves and for that part of their nation which did not have to work.

"At length, after infinite effort," as Carlyle puts it in his illustration of the thirty Englishmen from an English "Dumdrudge" and the thirty Frenchmen from a French "Dumdrudge," "the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and Thirty, shrieking Hurrah! rush on, with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word 'Fire!' is given, and they blow the souls out of one another, and in the place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen the world has sixty dead carcasses which it must bury and meet the mars for."

In the present war in Europe, which exceeds any human orgies and folly that Carlyle could reasonably foresee, the sixty may be almost any number of hundreds of thousands of useful craftsmen, with no grudge against one another. Their sufferings and the agony of their families would be the same as if the men who are sending them to war. Generals, and those who command generals, have little reason to suffer from the privates soldiers. They will sacrifice whole regiments, knowingly, intentionally. If by so doing they can turn the tide of a skirmish which will turn the tide of a small battle which will turn the tide of a big battle and lead to a victory which will enable a national commerce to expand and a commercial class to accumulate more wealth.

If warfare were confined on with weapons which would stupefy but not kill, and each nation, at the end of the war, should have a million workingmen and an opposing nation locked up in its prisons, the first cry of the makers of the war would be to let those workingmen go free and get to work again, earning their own and other people's livings. But not all the men who have made the loss of money in Europe, not all the kings and emperors and Grand Dukes and Princes breathe the breath of life back into the body of a single private soldier, once that soldier has been by them actually killed is lost. He will never work more.

Thus is made manifest the folly of those who think that the useful products of other men's labor that they set workers to killing one another for it. They think that they can get their power pawns lose in theirs. There is no "running" of the terrible thing by which workingmen killed, for if enough workmen were killed some of those who tax workingmen so that they themselves can live in useless ness would have to go to work. If they let this way of theirs go as far as that they are completely blinded and infatuated, and the hand of God is already writing their doom upon the palace walls.—San Francisco Bulletin.

## MUST ORGANIZE TO SECURE RIGHTS

Teachers throughout the country are reaching the conviction that they must help themselves if they wish better things and that many things are directly dependent upon purchasing power. Read the recent report giving the salaries paid the teachers of the United States, published by the United States Bureau of Education. It is full of convincing proof that something must be done.

Teachers are largely prevented from adopting practical methods because of false standards of so-called refinement of the profession. They have been told that teachers receive a higher pay than mere wages. They have tried to keep the atmosphere and traditions of a "profession" lest they lose caste with "influential" citizens. And what has it profited them? Their real friends are the masses of the people, the people whose children constitute at least 90 per cent of those attending public schools.

Others may idealize and exalt the teacher's calling, but the common people will help them to get higher pay. In a town of the Middle West a teacher has served for many years and received $390 a year. On this she supported herself and her mother. During the long vacation season she secured employment at night as a clerk in order to earn Christmas money. The women's club of that town, an association of "public spirited" philanthropists, refused to petition the school board to instruct the teacher that such employment was below the dignity of the profession. They were not constrained to give up her Christmas money. The school board did not so much as hear of the case. The salary and the women's club care the incident no further. The illustration is typical.

Teachers must organize. They must organize. The school system belongs to the people and must be adapted to their needs. If the teachers organize in order to occupy the place in that system which belongs to them by right of service, they will infuse into it the spirit and practices of democracy.

The teachers must get in touch with the life of the whole nation, for into the schools come children from all manner of homes, with multitudinous needs and desires. If teachers are to help solve the nation's problems they cannot hold aloof from the life and the struggles of its citizens.

In the effort to organize and protect and promote their rights and welfare, the teachers are entitled to and will receive the encouragement of all organized labor.—Samuel Gompers, in American Federationist.

## OUR RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Many employers appearing before the Industrial Relations Commission have testified that they believed in organization of the workers and that they felt that much good for both the worker and the employer could be derived from such organization.

Many of these men—in truth most of them—referred to such associations and unions as are now doing business in this country. These—the few—meant that they favored labor organizations of the mutual admiration society character. There are also a few employers who honestly believe in real labor organizations who are not selfish and narrow and selfish, but who are convinced that unions other than in their particular line of business are "bad things." They are willing to see unions with which they have to deal are unfair and wrong. This, of course, is simply a question of who is being forced to deal justly.

No man who believes in the brotherhood of man can be content in his desire to see the race progress and improve can deny the right to the worker to organize because he may be absolutely no dispute as to the value of organization as a means of advancement, not only for those who organize, but for all others as well. The past, and plainly revealed, history of the labor movement is sufficient warrant for this assertion to pass without challenge on the part of intelligent humanity.

Then, this being true, the real wisher of the race is bound not only to concede the right of the worker to organize, but justice also demands that the opportunity so to do be afforded. The employer can be an honest and consistent advocate of the betterment of the human race who denies to the humblest toiler the right to organize, and who fails to leave open to him the freest opportunity of associating with his fellows in the endeavor to improve the lot of all workers.

Those employers who really mean well entertain the idea that in their particular business the employes do not need organization, but that the men working along very well without it. This, however, is purely a case of blindness—a failure to see the benefits that those other workers to whose assistance the well-treated, well-paid worker is in duty bound to hasten and selfish to refuse can only come effectively through the instrumentality of organization. The unorganized toiler in his helplessness is utterly powerless to aid the downtrodden and oppressed to any appreciable extent. It is the duty of every man to help every other, all workers should be organized, they are entitled to the right of it, whether employer or employed, who desires the steady improvement of the human race, should be willing and ready to open up the opportunity to organize to every worker in the land.

Many employers will not do this certainly fails short in his duty. Nor can he so fail and be honest in expressing his belief that organization of the workers as a stepping stone to progress.

Organization of the workers is either helpful or beneficial to them and to society. If it is beneficial—and the world's progress to date is proof that it is—workers should be organized, and the person who places a single obstacle in the way of such organization, together with each of the toiling millions is not a true friend of man, and must be prompted in his course solely by selfishness, or by blind or another. What other motive could possibly guide such a man? We confess we can conceive of none.

To the man who desires to do right, without regard for his station in the world of affairs, we proffer these thoughts for his serious analysis and action.—Labor Clarion.

## COURAGE, BROTHERS

This labor struggle becomes awfully discouraging at times, doesn't it? It takes such a lot of brain and body energy to accomplish anything, and the accomplishment appears so insignificant.

"Do you remember the story of the portrait of Dante which is painted on the walls of the Bargello at Florence?" asks Dr. Henry Van Dyke.

For many years it was supposed that the picture had utterly perished. Men had heard of it, but no one living had ever seen it.

Then presently came an artist who was determined to find it again. He went into the place where tradition said it had been painted.

The room was used as a storeroom for all sorts of rubbish. The walls were covered with dirty whitewash.

He had the heaps of rubbish carried away. Patiently and carefully removed the whitewash from the wall. Lines and colors hidden for centuries began to appear at last the grave, lofty, noble face of the great poet looked out upon the world in light.

Brother workers, there's a heap of rubbish and dirt obscuring our ideal of our movement. But the ideal is still there and will one day come forth in all its glory!—Los Angeles Citizen.

## Individual Effort Counts.

The progress of the labor movement can be no more rapid than that of the men and women who constitute its membership. The movement is democratic and every individual in it is responsible for its growth, its progress or its retrogression. The movement is just what the membership makes it and nothing else. It therefore behooves every member to take an active part in governing it, in directing its course and shaping its policies. The greater the activity of the individuals in it the greater will be the benefits derived by the entire movement. The greatest mass of those who expect something for nothing in this world do disappointed, and the rule also holds true to a great extent, in the labor movement. Therefore, get busy and struggle for your share of the good things of earth.—Ex.

## EMPLOYERS' SIDE

Causes of unrest advanced by employers before hearings of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations are stated as follows:

Abnormal industrial unrest.

Misunderstanding and prejudice.

Lack of conception that interests of both capital and labor are identical.

Agitation by politicians and irresponsible agitators.

Unemployment.

Unreasonable demands arising from strength of organization.

Labor leaders who stir up trouble to take positions in office and to graft on employers.

Inefficiency of workers, resulting in ever increasing cost of living.

Rapidly increasing complexity of industry.

Sudden transition of a large number of workers from repression to freedom, which makes them an easy prey to labor agitators.

Universal desire to get rich quick.

Decay of old ideas of honesty and thrift.

Misinformation in newspapers.

Too much organization for combative purposes instead of for co-operation.

Violence in labor troubles.

Sympathetic strikes and jurisdictional disputes.

Boycotting and picketing.

Meddlesome and burdensome legislation.

The closed shop, which makes for labor monopoly.

Financial and economical policy of labor unions.

# SUMMARY OF THINGS DONE BY PHILADELPHIA A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

**List Comprises Some of the More Important Questions Treated—Subjects Range from Peace Among Nations to Unceasing Opposition to Child Labor—"Organize the Unskilled" and "Protect Workers in Industry" Are Others Declarations.**

For the purpose of giving circulation to the wide range of subjects deliberated on and agreed to by the A. F. of L. thirty-fourth annual convention, held at Philadelphia, as well as to record the position of organized labor on questions of interest, the following synopsis, necessarily brief, is printed:

Ordered that that portion of E. C. report under the caption, "International War and Peace," should be published in pamphlet form.

The convention pledged its support to any plan "which has for its purpose the bringing about of the disarmament of all nations to the furthest extent consistent with the preservation of law and order throughout the world."

Fraternal greetings and sympathy were extended the labor movements of Europe, and hope was expressed for the early cessation of terrible war. It was also voted that "the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in view of the general peace congress which will no doubt be held at the close of the war, for the purpose of adjusting claims and differences, hold itself in readiness and authorize the Executive Council to call a meeting of representatives of organized labor of the different nations to meet at the same time and place, to the end that suggestions may be made and such action taken as shall be helpful in restoring fraternal relations, protecting the interests of the toilers and thereby assisting in laying foundations for a more lasting peace."

Declaring that unemployment was partly due to our system of land tenure, the convention favored the land being "restored to the people and made available without paying unjust tribute to land owners." It was also decided "that we give continued attention to the organization of the unskilled in every field of labor."

A renewed demand was made for the passage of the three unfilled demands of Labor's Bill of Grievances, presented in 1906 to the President of the United States and the presiding officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives. These demands are the seamen's, the immigration and the convict labor bills.

Hearty indorsement was given the E. C. in its efforts to carry out previous instructions to "extend its good offices in the establishment of the federation agreement between all unions in a given industry."

The convention indorsed the E. C.'s recommendations on social insurance. The subject of mutual insurance by workers was treated at length by our officers, who favor the plan, and who were instructed to continue their investigations.

The recently-adopted Massachusetts law, covering the subject of labor injunctions, was favored as a model for other states.

Again affirming its faith in conciliation, mediation and arbitration, the convention raised a warning note against the Esch-Townsend bill, the adoption of which would be a long step toward compulsory arbitration.

Citizenship for Porto Ricans was approved.

Officers were instructed to continue their efforts to establish a legal department in connection with the A. F. of L.

Pledges of support to striking miners were given, and the convention agreed with the E. C. that "the copper strike was not lost, because of the establishment of an eight-hour day and wage increases.

Convention instructed E. C. to request United States attorney general to place a construction upon the federal eight-hour law, which has been made ineffective in some instances because of a decision by a former attorney general who ruled that material does not come under the law. If the decision is adverse, the E. C. is further instructed to urge an amendment to the law, which will provide "that all work done for the government shall be on an eight-hour basis."

The convention took notice of the glowing affirmations of captains of big industries, who declare: "There is plenty of room at the top; save your money and become capitalists," and charge the trade unions with hindering such elevation. The convention voted: "It is a self-evident fact that if we could all get to the top there would be no top as it is now known, and we declare that all such platitudes have no social value; that they are not fundamentally correct; that they are valueless and really meaningless; and that they are a snare and a delusion, calculated to catch the unwary and to deceive the nonunionist. * * * We declare against so-called castes in the labor field, and denounce the false assertion that there is plenty of room at the top as a subterfuge set up to mislead, befog and dissuade wage earners from joining trade unions."

Protest was made against the Moon bill (12473), intended to weaken the present law, which assures postal employes a weekly day of rest.

The United States government is asked to pass a law that will serve as a model for the various states in bringing about a system of loans of money for municipal and private ownership of sanitary houses.

The Palmer-Lewis bill, intended to reduce the working hours of night postoffice employes, was indorsed.

All affiliated bodies are urged to agitate for more rigid inspection of housing conditions and sanitary work houses as part of the war against tuberculosis.

The publicity and educational activities of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis was indorsed.

The president of the A. F. of L. was instructed to take such steps as may be deemed advisable to acquaint unionists with the hazards incident to their employment and the methods best calculated to preserve their health, safety and lives.

The committee appointed to adjust differences between the carpenters and sheet metal workers reported in favor of continuing conferences, which shall consist, in the future, of the president of the A. F. of L., president of the Building Trades department and the presidents of the interested organizations.

After investigating the question of private detectives, by a committee appointed by the president, the E. C. shall have prepared legislation to be presented to Congress and the state legislatures which will prevent the granting of a license to any private agency whose members can be secured for strike-breaking purposes.

Protest made at the hiring of natives of the West Indies as plasterers in the Canal Zone at wages ranging from 20 to 30 cents an hour, instead of American plasterers, at rates recognized in the United States.

Efforts will be made to have mail equipment disinfected and cleansed, to supplant filthy, dusty and germ-laden equipment, which is a factor in the development of tuberculosis.

Support pledged these strikers: Copper miners in Northern Michigan, glovemakers in Gloversville, N. Y., and Atlanta textile workers.

Strong resolutions against child labor, presented by the E. C., were adopted. The convention agreed that "any one who profits by the toil of children at all, or by the labor of other minors required to toil more than eight hours a day, is unfair and unworthy of the patronage of true patriots and those who desire human welfare."

The E. C. is empowered to take such further action as will cause the greatest benefit to labor in the development of industrial education, vocational and trade training. Reference is made to the Lever bill, which was signed by the President May 8, 1914, and which contains many educational features that will benefit agricultural and urban labor.

In referring to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, whose work has been approved by the E. C., the convention declares: "We favor the widest publicity being given the testimony of President Gompers before the commission, and recommend that the attention of the wage workers be called to the existence of a pamphlet in print containing an abstract of this testimony."

Every effort will be made by the A. F. of L. and its affiliates to advance both the adoption of free textbooks and the organization of school teachers.

The establishment of an A. F. of L. library will entail such work the matter is referred to the E. C. for further consideration and report.

Boat owners in the vicinity of New York will not employ a captain unless his wife and children live on the boat. It was decided to attempt to secure laws stopping women from living on these boats because of insanitary surroundings, and compel children to go to school.

The convention refused to sanction a declaration of war against national or international unions not affiliated to the A. F. of L. All officers and members of affiliates were asked to join in the effort to show non-affiliates their duty. The convention said:

"We hold that it is morally wrong for a wage earner to remain outside the fold of the union of his trade or calling; that it is morally wrong for a local union of the trade or calling to remain isolated from the international or national union thereof, and it can be but morally wrong for such a national or international union to remain unaffiliated to the A. F. of L."

A six-hour-a-day resolution was not favored because the convention believed the eight-hour plan should first become more generally accepted. Hearty support, however, was promised any union that desired to begin agitating for a work day less than eight hours. Women's and children's eight-hour days were favored, and the E. C. was instructed to do all in its power to carry these principles into effect.

A "Sunday rest" movement, to be urged by the "International Lord's Day Congress," was approved, the convention favoring the E. C.'s view that "we are convinced that to co-operate with all other agencies having this object in view will be productive of good results, not only to the labor movement but to our citizenship in general."

The question of organizing workers in Cuba was referred to the E. C., to carry into effect at the most opportune time.

The organizing of women workers by the A. F. of L. was given hearty indorsement, and the E. C. was instructed to continue this work and levy a one-cent assessment, if necessary, the coming year.

The convention concurred with the E. C. that a series of lectures be delivered by President Gompers on the trade union movement and that same be published in pamphlet form and sold at the lowest possible price.

A campaign of organization among employes of state-controlled institutions was agreed on.

Resolutions calling for the organization of lastmakers, elevator operators, porters, janitors, stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers and assistants, school teachers and domestics were adopted.

The organization of women's union label leagues was approved.

The Commercial Telegraphers' union charges that both the Western Union and Postal Telegraph companies have blacklisted and discharged its union employes. President Gompers was instructed to notify national and international officers of this condition for the purpose of assisting those workers.

Unionists associated with philanthropic, civic, social and industrial reform organizations are urged to make "earnest and persistent efforts to unionize the offices" of said organizations.

Danbury hatters' case—To provide sufficient funds to meet the expenses of this case, now before the United States Supreme Court, the convention ordered that a one-cent assessment be levied on the membership. All remaining funds will be turned over to fund for organizing women workers.

Because the registration laws have been so altered as to permit foreign vessels to come under the American flag and to sail for two years without inspection, and for seven years with officers not citizens of the United States, the convention urged Congress to change the law so that vessels will be compelled to carry citizens as licensed officers. The law as it now stands permits vessels so admitted to sail with no inspection, to the danger of human life and property. This was also disapproved.

A resolution to form "an independent labor party" was non-concurred in and the A. F. of L. political policy reaffirmed.

President Wilson was requested to issue an order restraining the Marine Band at Washington from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in the District of Columbia.

Affiliated organizations are asked to join in a demand that Congress pass the Casey bill, or legislation of similar import, acceptable to the organized farmers. This bill provides for the establishment of a commission to demonstrate that farm denatured alcohol distilling is practical. This, it is claimed, "would curtail, if not destroy, the monopoly of the liquid fuel supply by the oil trust, of the meat supply by the packers, and of alcohol as a solvent in many industries by the industrial alcohol and wood alcohol trusts."

Protest was made against certain working conditions in the Canal zone, and the E. C. was instructed to insist on working conditions existing prior to April 4, 1914. On the theory that "the first duty of the American government is the welfare of its own citizens," the convention asked that the many positions now held in the Canal zone by skilled aliens, be filled by American citizens.

Unemployment and vagrancy laws—To safeguard the welfare and rights of the unemployed, federal legislation, now pending, and which is intended to serve as a model for the various states, was approved.

Efforts of the E. C. to secure weekly rest day and Saturday half-holiday legislation were indorsed.

Municipal ownership—The convention thanked W. D. Mahon and L. D. Bland for their report on "Labor Conditions on European Municipally Owned Railroads," and unanimously adopted this report of its committee: "While not expressing any new or additional thought in connection with the present policy of the American Federation of Labor relative to municipal ownership, your committee cannot overlook the statements contained in this report which indicate that, whether under private or public ownership, the only real improvement in the conditions of labor for street railway employes has been accomplished through trade union activity. Your committee recommends that wherever municipal ownership of public utilities is attempted, the trade union movement emphatically insists that there shall be incorporated in the law creating the municipally owned utility an adequate provision guaranteeing the right of the workers to organize upon trade union lines, and their right to a voice in the regulation and determination of the wages, hours of labor and working conditions."

Efforts of the E. C. to assist the organized farmers in securing a credit bill were approved. This legislation provides for the loaning of money on farm mortgages by the government. In discussing this subject, the E. C. said: "The interests of the workers in industry and agriculture are closely allied, and it is a pleasure as well as it is the duty for us to co-operate with and receive the co-operation of the men engaged in agriculture."

Reduction of hours for night postoffice clerks was favored.

Approval was given the E. C. in its efforts to strengthen the federal hours of service (16-hour) act by providing a minimum fine for violations. The E. C. reported that "the way in which many of the courts have trifled with this exceptionally important law has been shameful."

The present contract system of handling mails was disapproved. It was urged that future contracts provide for eight hours and the prevailing wage rates of the various localities, to be paid teamsters and chauffeurs.

The convention congratulated the E. C. "upon the progress which has been made during the last year in uncovering the evils attendant upon the so-called Taylor system of scientific management and recommends that the E. C. continue its efforts to have a measure enacted which will prevent the operation of any system of shop management which includes the use of stop watches in connection with workingmen's labor, or the application of any system of payment of wages adopted for the purpose of speeding up workingmen, and the elimination of such system wherever it exists."

Unfair and arbitrary use of physical examination of employes in government arsenals and navy yards was disapproved.

Continued efforts are to be made by the E. C. to have the government build and repair more naval vessels in its navy yards.

Numerous bills providing for old age pensions for civil service employes have been introduced in Congress, and the E. C. reported that "there is a wide divergence of opinion" among government employes as to the best legislation. It was agreed that a general campaign of education on the subject is necessary.

Proposed eight-hour law for railroad telegraphers was approved, as was the eight-hour and other labor measures of the conservation bill, now before the Senate committee on public lands.

Officers of the A. F. of L. instructed to give all possible aid to legislation for safety appliances and inspectors of same. The convention assumed the same position on the question of a bureau of labor safety, to be maintained by the federal government.

Efforts will be continued to pass a law providing for the collection and publication of data on mortality and disability by accident and occupational diseases in the various industries.

State and central bodies will be urged to favor a rate of not less than 66 2-3 per cent of the wages paid to those who are to receive awards under compensation laws. Widows should receive compensation during their widowhood, and additional rates for children under eighteen years of age are favored. Compensation laws should be administered by state commissions. It was further voted: "That upon the death by accident or through the result of an accident, an estate shall be automatically in existence to which, in case no heirs are found, the compensation due on account of the death shall revert after two years to the general funds of the state, or nation in case of federal compensation."

Authorizing E. C. to purchase or cause to be erected an office building suitable for the American Federation of Labor and its departments. E. C. also empowered to use funds available for this purpose and raise such other funds as may be necessary.

Endorsement of "labor forward" movement, was approved, as was Labor Day and Labor Sunday.

Instructing the E. C. to call upon national and international unions to co-operate with the St. Louis trade union movement in inaugurating a "labor forward" movement.

Convention defeated a resolution providing that "national or international unions shall voluntary delegate to the A. F. of L. full power and authority to pass necessary laws and adopt suitable means" to compel local unions to join central bodies. Convention sustained committee's position that compulsion should be left to the various national and international bodies.

Favor the federal government purchasing Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, and Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, near Charlottesville, Va.

If a world's congress to consider the subject of unemployment will be held at San Francisco during the exposition, the E. C. is authorized to appoint a representative of the A. F. of L. to attend.

Humanitarian considerations on the part of victorious Mexican constitutionalists toward their defeated opponents would be a factor in tranquilizing this war-torn country.

Discussing the question of war, the convention declared: "Let us not forget that sordid greed which profits by lack of proper safeguards, sanitation, low wages, etc., here as elsewhere on the industrial field and in transportation, takes more human lives, maims more human beings, causes more sickness, want and privation than have resulted from any previous war or may result from this war. The trade union movement stands for honorable peace between nations, and is the greatest force for the protection and the advancement of the best interests in the economic field of endeavor, and must not be subordinated, neglected or forgotten. We stand for honorable peace on the economic field, but we demand justice as the fundamental condition for all progress. If denied, we hold ourselves in readiness to fight for justice. When justice is established, peace will follow."

The E. C. was authorized to make an investigation of the so-called Dick military law.

The formation of local label trades departments, under jurisdiction of the Union Label Trades department of the A. F. of L., was urged.

Suffrage in the District of Columbia approved.

Because of the different solutions of the convict labor evil now urged in the several states, the E. C. was instructed to make suggestions to the next convention that will be satisfactory to the workers in the various states.

State federations are urged to work for the adoption of uniform textbooks.

Changes were made in the laws governing A. F. of L. departments, which will henceforth act in all cases in conformity with the laws and precedents of the A. F. of L. This refers especially to affiliation, to be voluntary on the part of national and international unions in the future.

Secretary of Commerce Redfield is requested to investigate the United States steamboat inspection service, charged with a failure to provide safeguards to life and property in the navigation of steam vessels.

Efforts of government employes to secure old-age retirement laws were approved. A. F. of L. officers instructed to confer with affiliated bodies of federal civil service employes to aid in the passage of a suitable measure.

Wage increases for postal clerks and letter carriers indorsed.

A workmen's compensation act for the District of Columbia favored.

On the proposal to indorse the movement to secure eight hours by law, the convention voted: "The A. F. of L., as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, except in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by federal, state or municipal government."

Instructions given E. C. to attempt to have the Lincoln Memorial, at Washington, D. C., erected by union men and in accordance with the federal eight-hour law.

Law favored that will make impossible the renewal by the government of a contract with Dayton, Ohio, concern for printing corner cards on envelopes.

Saturday half holiday the entire year for employes in navy yards and arsenals favored.

It was agreed "that all patent rights for arms, munitions and other equipment to be used for war purposes should be acquired by the government, and all such equipment should be manufactured in government establishments."

Organizations directly interested shall co-operate with officers of A. F. of L. to secure passage of satisfactory boiler inspection law

## *How Working Girls in Cities Live on an $8 Weekly Wage*

The recently completed field work of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission shows that the working girls who earns $8 a week has to spend at least $4 for board and room. Not much of a room can be had at such a price. The girl generally has, in New York City, a folding bed in order that there may be a place to sit when she is not sleeping. The people who conduct the room directory at the Young Women's Christian Association in that city think that $4 a week is about what is required to obtain a decent room. Four dollars a week, then, for food and lodging, surely a subnormal standard of living in most cases. It may be that the food is insufficient, or it may be that the apartment is overcrowded, or it may be that the room does not furnish any degree of privacy.

Clothing demands another dollar and a half a week. Any one who has tried to figure out a satisfactory clothing budget on $80 a year, knows how little that sum will buy. Stockings at 10 cents the pair from a 5 and 10 cent store are expensive, for it often takes a pair a week; likewise shoes at $2 are costly. But one who never has a reserve fund is forced to buy in this uneconomical manner.

The next inevitable item of expenditure for a great many is carfare, which comes to 60 cents a week. Thus all but $1.90 of the $8 wage is used for food, clothing and transportation to and from work. She does her own laundry, very often after a hard day in store or factory. This work is a heavy tax on strength.

What must be covered by this $1.90? Ten cents a week paid to an industrial insurance company will buy a girl starting at the age of twenty-one a death benefit of $204, or a twenty-year endowment policy for $86. This burial insurance is a necessity. Then there are the innumerable demands of the toilet to be met from this sum, and the irregular but certain calls for the service of the dentist, or the physician, or the oculist. If these incidental items do not consume the whole of the $1.80 something is left for amusement. But the fact seems to be that the girl is dependent for her pleasures mainly on men. She has, therefore, to attract the men. She may be tempted to various arts and actions that are a bit unconventional.

But this is not all. The girl is liable to several weeks of unemployment during the year. After these weeks, she generally has a debt to her landlady against which she must struggle. The $8 girl does not save, neither does the $9 girl. It is not until the wage of $10 is attained that a third of the women are able to save. How can the $8 girl provide for periods of slack work?

So much may be said of the $8 girl, but about half the women in the factories are receiving less than $6.50.—Frank H. Streightoff, Director of Cost of Living Investigation of Factory Commission.

## A CREED

Faith in him who calls me friend,
Faith in what is sweet and clean:
Faith that just around the bend
All is peaceful and serene.
Faith that after care and strife
Come the happy days of rest.
Faith that everything in life
Really happens for the best.

This my faith and this my shield
'Gainst the arrows of distrust;
Much of justice is concealed
In what seems to be unjust.
Now what seems a dismal way
That alone I'm forced to tread
I may come to see some day
Is a glorious path instead.

Undisturbed by petty wrongs,
Undismayed by what is mean,
Though the false attracts the throngs,
Though the multitude's unclean,
Though at times I stand alone,
Though I'm oft misunderstood,
Faith I still would keep and own
In the decent and the good.
—Detroit Free Press.

## The Larger View.

The organized labor movement is great today because great and self-sacrificing spirits have been behind it in the past and ennobled it by their example. To the time-server and he who counts his self-interest as first, neither organized labor or any other movement will mean much more than a mere name. There is no workman so humble that he cannot take his place and play a manly part in the battle of life. The labor movement has a place open and ready for every man and woman who aspires to do his or her share in making this world better. The greatest of failures is the man or woman who does not recognize that humanity has a claim upon him or her, and whose sole ambition is to just enjoy life and have a good time. To him who really lives will come the realization of things to be done, of battles to fight, of victories to win, and ofttimes of sacrifices to be made for our common humanity.—The Industrial Banner.

## Our Progress Is Steady.

The man who can view the labor movement of today in contrast with the past and deny that there has been great progress is indeed blind beyond the hope of recovery. There is no gainsaying the fact that the movement has groped and stumbled and fallen in the struggle toward a better state of things, but always at the close of each year substantial progress has been recorded for the men and women of toil. True, sometimes the horizon has been hidden by black and threatening clouds, but always the hope of the men of labor has carried their vision beyond to the clear sunshine and the open light, and seldom have they been disappointed in what they found there. Such has been the past history of the movement, and such, perhaps, will be its future, yet there is no room for croaking and pessimism.—Excha

## IN THE "GOOD OLD DAYS" BEFORE MEN ORGANIZED

Wherever wage workers may labor and lack the power to have a voice regarding their own destinies, the employers will force on them an agreement similar to the following, which governed the coal mines of Montana twenty-five years ago, when the coal operators "ran their own business." Read it. Compare it with the one now in force with the same company in this district, and then dare to denounce union methods and progress:

NORTHERN PACIFIC COAL CO.

**General Rules for the Government of Employes at Timberline and Other Mines.**

**Rules and Regulations.**

The following rules and regulations are for the government of the employes of the Nothern Pacific Coal company, at Timberline, Mont., and must be strictly adhered to.

These same rules will also govern all employes at any other mines operated by the Northern Pacific Coal company, so far as the local conditions will permit, and will be in full force on and after September 15, 1885.

**Wages, Etc.**

1. The wages of employes at the mines shall be set and regulated by the superintendent, and the amount due in any one month will be paid on the 25th of the month following.

2. Orders will be given employes on the company's store and butcher shop for work actually done, for any amount not exceeding the amount actually owing at the time the order is asked for. But no orders will be issued in any month for wages earned in another month, nor will any orders be issued on the first three days of any month.

**Store Patronage, Etc.**

3. As the company has gone to the expense and trouble of establishing a store, butcher shop and saloon for the accommodation and convenience of its employes, and as its employes derive their living from the company, all employes will be expected to patronize these places to the exclusion of all other similar establishments or peddlers.

**Sobriety, Regularity, Etc.**

4. Employes will be expected to be sober and orderly at all times. No drunken rows or carousing will be tolerated.

5. All employes must be at work promptly at the time designated by the superintendent or foreman, and remain at work the full allotted time, whether they are paid by the day or by the ton.

**House Regulations.**

6. Each employe renting a house from the company will be required to sign a lease before taking possession of it.

7. No one will be allowed to erect a house on the company's grounds without first having obtained permission from the superintendent and signing a lease therefor.

8. Every householder will be required to keep his house in good order, and will be charged for any damages done beyond the ordinary wear and tear.

9. He will be required to keep his house neat and clean, both inside and out.

10. Dirty water, slops, ashes or any other substance which will tend to bring about disease or ill health, must be put in a suitable well, to be made for that purpose by the householder. It is strictly forbidden to throw such filth on the ground around the house or on the road in front of it.

11. In case any employe who rents a house is discharged, or of his own accord leaves the company's employ, he will be required to surrender possession of his house within ten days from the date on which he ceases to be employed. Settlement of his wages or amount due him will not be made until he has moved out of his house.

**Animals.**

12. No one will be allowed to keep pigs without carefully penning them up. If allowed to run at large they will be put in pound and a charge made before they will be given back to the owner.

13. No one will be allowed to keep a vicious dog.

**Strikes, Labor Societies, Etc.**

14. Any employe joining any secret labor organization, or in any way taking part in any strike, or for any cause refusing to perform work assigned to him at any time, unless satisfactory excuse for same is made to the superintendent or foreman; or who shall be under the influence of intoxicating liquors while at work, or who shall be incapacitated for work by the use of liquor, will at once be discharged; and under no circumstances will any one so discharged be re-employed.

**Hospital Regulations.**

15. Single men will be required to pay one dollar per month, and married men one dollar and a half per month, toward the hospital fund.

16. This amount will procure for single men and married men and their families, medical attendance and medicines for all ordinary diseases and accidents occurring on the property of the company, or while engaged in working for them; but will not include venal diseases, childbirth, or treatment of any chronic diseases contracted previous to coming into camp, or any accidents which are clearly due to negligence or carelessness on the part of the patient.

17. Fee for childbirth shall be fifteen dollars.

19. The charge for visits for all cases not included as above, shall be one dollar and fifty cents; and in all such cases there shall be a moderate charge for medicines.

20. The hospital fund will not pay any board or furnish anything except attendance and medicines.

21. The full amount will be collected from each man each month, whether he works a full month or only a part of a month.

22. Employes of the company, who intend to call the company's physician in cases of childbirth, are requested to notify him a month in advance, so that he can keep a record of the case and not be absent from the camp when his services are required.

23. In case of a violation of any of these rules by any employe, for the first offense it will be at the option of the superintendent whether the party offending shall pay a fine of five dollars or be laid off from his work for one week.

24. For the second offense the employe offending will be discharged.

These rules will be in full force after date.

Ignorance of them will not be accepted as an excuse for their violation.

H. E. GRAHAM, Superintendent.

Approved:
LOGAN M. BULLITT, Vice President.
St. Paul, September 15, 18[illegible].
—From the Seattle Union Record.

## URGENT APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL AID

Washington, Dec. 12.—Acting on the authority of the A. F. of L. convention at Philadelphia, the executive council has issued the following appeal for financial assistance to all unions who are urged to contribute as much as their resources will permit:

To the Officers and Members of Affiliated Unions:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Philadelphia, Pa., November 9-21, 1914, considered appeals for financial assistance from three international unions:

The appeal of the International Glove Workers' Union of America for financial assistance for 1,500 glove cutters in Gloversville and Johnstown, New York, who have been on strike since August 21, 1914;

The appeal of the United Textile Workers of America for assistance for the employes of the Fulton Bag and Cotton company, of Atlanta, Ga., who have been on strike since May 13, 1914;

The appeal of the Western Federation of Miners for financial assistance to defend thirty-nine members of their organization, now under indictment in Calumet, Mich., which includes all of its officers and executive board members.

For full and detail information relative to these three appeals for financial assistance read resolutions and actions of Philadelphia convention, quoted on page 3 of this circular.

The executive council, at its first meeting after the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention, considered the three appeals for financial assistance which were referred to it by the convention, and in the light of the fact that a number of appeals have been issued during this year, decided that because of the great need of immediate financial assistance of these three organizations, that it would be best to issue one appeal and that one-third of all funds received should be transferred to each organization named above.

In issuing this appeal we are cognizant of the fact that organized labor has in the past contributed generously for the aid of members of affiliated organizations on strike and in distress, and our affiliated unions are to be commended for the prompt financial contributions which they have cheerfully given to the requests made by affiliated organizations for financial assistance. Notwithstanding that fact you can readily realize that a considerable sum is, and will be, necessary to give to the textile workers on strike in Atlanta, Ga., and the glove workers on strike in Gloversville, N. Y., the barest necessities of life, even in the line of food. We are, therefore, appealing to our affiliated organizations and members to render every financial aid possible to these men and women to help them stave off hunger so that they may maintain this unequal struggle to a victorious termination. This appeal for financial contributions is to organized labor generally—to central bodies and local unions as well as to individual members. Unions that may be in a position to make large contributions should make them, but it should be no barrier to any union making a small contribution, even if it be but a dollar. If unions have no funds or cannot make appropriations from their funds for this appeal, they should appoint committees to secure individual contributions, and through their secretaries forward same to American Federation of Labor headquarters.

Send all contributions to Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor, Ouray building, Washington, D. C., who will receipt for same and promptly forward one-third to each of the three organizations.

## GLASS MEN ORGANIZE.

Shreveport, La., Dec. 12.—A local of the Glass Bottle Blowers' association has been formed in this city, and wages for these workers have been increased from 10 to 40 per cent over the non-union rates that were formerly paid.

## THE "YELLOW PERIL"

Japan has an area equal to about one-fifteenth of that of the United States. In this area lives a population equal to a little more than half that of he United States. Japan is, therefore, about seven times as densely peopled as this country. The wages of its laborers and the living standards of its people are much lower than our own. But the national debt of Japan is more than $300,000,000 greater than our own, and the annual interest charges upon it are three times as great as those we have to pay. In a few years Japan is likely to be taxing the rice out of the mouths of its people and the clothes off their backs. She will not be a formidable enemy for this country, or any other, either in means or disposition. She will want all the peace there is.

These facts are not debatable or disputable. There is a point beyond which water cannot be squeezed out of a sponge, and there is a point beyond which a people's power for military offense definitely ceases. Japan has reached that point. Japan can never hurt the people of the United States, and probably she never will want to.

If any friction ever arises in the Pacific it will be between American merchants, who want to get more money than they are entitled to, and Japanese merchants filled with the same unhallowed ambition; and if both nations are as intelligent as they seem to be getting to be neither one will be deluded into expending valuable lives to defend those merchants' pocketbooks. As for the immigration question, that would never bring war, even if Japan were able to carry on another large sized struggle. Japanese immigrants cannot be forced on America so long as American labor finds them an economic menace. There are too many of us to make it worth while to try.—The San Francisco Bulletin.

## A Crime to Play.

Every large city has to meet the problem of its children at play no less than at school.

Mr. Edward M. Barrows recently issued a report of his investigations concerning the condition of the boy on the city streets. He states that there were 12,000 children arrested in one year in New York City. "Their crime consisted in doing the only thing they ought to do—namely, playing."

"The crime of children," says the report, "which begins as a purely legal fact, becomes, through normal evolution under street conditions, a moral evil and results in criminal types and criminal gangs."

In commenting on this, a writer in the New York Globe says: "You devote millions to police courts and prisons, while if you took care of the children in a decent way your prisons would not be needed. Take care of the children, and the grown-ups will take care of themselves. There is only one big, overtowering reform needed in this world and that is a reform that will lead us to train every child in the nation."—Rochester Labor Herald.